Apostolic PERSPECTIVES

APRIL - MAY, 1959

A Special Issue on INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

APOSTOLIC PERSPECTIVES

APRIL-MAY 1959

Volume IV Number 3

EXECUTIVE EDITOR	VINCENT GIESE
EDITOR	BERNARD MURCHLAND, C.S.C.
MANAGING EDITOR	JOHN MCCUDDEN
ASSOCIATE EDITORS	LOUIS PUTZ, C.S.C. EUGENE GEISSLER
BUSINESS MANAGER	WILLIAM MCCULLOUGH
PROMOTION	DAVID COHEN JOHN EVANS
ART DIRECTION	MARY ELLEN EBLING
EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICE	Box 507 Notre Dame, Indiana

With Ecclesiastical Approbation

APOSTOLIC PERSPECTIVES. All rights reserved. Published bimonthly by Fides Publishers Association, Box 596, Notre Dame, Indiana.

Subscription Prices. Domestic and foreign, $3.00 for one year; $5.00 for two years.

Entered as second class matter at the Post Office of Notre Dame, Indiana.

Just Released

Christians in a Changing World

DENNIS GEANEY, O.S.A.

A timely and provocative book which describes social change, not merely to give an academic picture of it, but in order to arouse Christians out of an unholy inertia.

Archbishop Patrick A. O'Boyle of Washington has written the Foreword.

$3.95

FIDES PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION
Notre Dame, Indiana

Table of Contents

EDITORIAL 3

ARTICLES

The Catholic Interracial Council Movement Looks to the Future ....by John LaFarge, S.J. 4

A Christian Conscience and Interracial Justice ..by William J. Kenealy, S.J. 10

The Catholic Interracial Councils in Perspective .....by John Yancey 13

COMMISSION REPORTS

Housing 16

Institutions 21

Employment 25

Education 27

RESOLUTIONS 29

ROUNDUP

The Church 32

Religious Unity 35

Social Order 39

BOOKS 45

COVER PICTURE:

From left to right: The Most Reverend Owen McCann, Archbishop of Capetown; the Most Reverend Emmanuel Mabathoana, O.M.I., Bishop of Leribe, Basutoland; George Hunton, Executive Director of the Catholic Interracial Council of New York; John A. LaFarge, S.J.; Lloyd Davis, Executive Director of the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago; and the Right Reverend Daniel Cantwell, Chaplain, C.I.C. of Chicago.

SPECIAL ISSUE:

In this April-May issue of *Apostolic Perspectives*, we present the highlights of the first National Catholic Conference on Interracial Justice held last August in Chicago. Thirty pages of this issue are devoted to major addresses and to the findings and resolutions of the various commissions which met during the conference. Special thanks are due to the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago for help in preparing the issue.

Racial Dialogue

"WE MEET here primarily in order to make a great affirmation, drawn from our Christian faith." So spoke Father John LaFarge at the first National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice in Chicago last August.

Some indication of the strength of that affirmation can be found in the talks and resolutions of that landmark meeting reprinted in this issue of *AP*. It goes without saying that the editors of this magazine are honored to publish such significant material. But we do not do so with any ultimate sense of complacency. We share with the delegates who attended the Chicago Conference (over 400 of them) a deep anxiety about the race question.

We also share their impatience and dissatisfaction with the existing situation. Some authorities think that the race question is the number one problem in America today. Certainly it is, or ought to be, an embarrassing situation for the Christian conscience. Father LaFarge also expressed this aspect of the question. "Caution and patience are basic virtues," he said, "but exhortations to prolonged inaction are meaningless if they are used, as is not infrequently the case, as a mere excuse for doing nothing. . . . Many of the worst interracial situations that exist today would not have come to pass if such reasonably prompt action had been exerted a couple of decades ago." And he added this note of sympathy: "We can welcome the phenomenal patience shown by so many of the American Negro people under great trial and provocation, and honor the remarkably capable and intelligent program of a leader like Dr. Martin Luther King."

Nevertheless the Conference, we think, did usher in a new chapter in racial dialogue — a deeper sense of urgency, a more biting sense of contrition for past failures, a broader awareness of the magnitude of the problem. The Christian knows that racial discrimination is morally wrong. He knows that every human being is a member of the same human race, and is elevated to the dignity of sonship with God. He knows that there is an essential equality among men. Every human being has received with equal bounty equal human rights.

But he knows, too, that racial discrimination has always existed in one form or another. He knows that encounter is never easy and always imperative. In *Man's Western Quest*, Denis de Rougemont argues that this quest has been based on the appreciation of the value of the human person, and he traces this urgent concern with the person in the West back to the first three ecumenical councils of Nice, Constantinople, and Ephesus. The high and mighty issues involving the Trinity and the Person of Christ concealed the seeds of a personalist concern that has grown ever since.

Yet we ever fall short of the mark. This is noticeable in the parallel case of inter-faith dialogue. Religious unity in the world today is little more than a hope. Still, dialogue must continue as a fundamental condition of something better. Father Ong made this point in a talk to the Seminar on Religion in a Free Society sponsored by the Fund for the Republic, about a year ago. "All communication, all dialogue," he said, "has this effect: it unites, and this despite the greatest difference there is, that between your person and mine, between you and me. But, finally, dialogue must be between persons who are fully persons by being committed, by having taken a stand in the world of persons. Otherwise it will degenerate into the mere talk of a television commercial. In the tension between personal commitment and a love, not for humanity but for all individual men, the promise of a free society will best be realized."

These remarks are eminently applicable to the racial situation. In the measure that we continue talking to one another — seeking new means of understanding and solving our problems, and bearing in mind that they are indeed complex — better conditions can be reasonably hoped for.

The Chicago Conference established grounds for this hope in an especially strenuous fashion. Racial dialogue will undoubtedly take on a sharper edge because of it. More effective action will almost necessarily follow from it. This we believe to be the case because, when all is said and done, the Conference was an eloquent dialogue between *persons* committed to a stand in the matter of racial justice.

The Catholic Interracial Council Movement Looks to the Future

John LaFarge, S.J.

WE MEET here primarily in order to make a great affirmation, drawn from our Christian faith. This affirmation, of its very nature, is a reply to the most insidious, the most widespread, the most subtly appealing ideology, that has ever ensnared the minds and hearts of millions of our fellow human beings. Interracial justice, as prayed and lived in the Catholic interracial movement of the United States, is a direct answer to Marxist theory and to world-communist propaganda. There are, of course, many other answers, depending upon the particular angle from which communism makes its assaults upon human intelligence and human emotions. But the line laid down by the Catholic interracial movement attacks the Marxian line of thought and action — for thought and action form one in the Marxian scheme — precisely at its most vulnerable point. It counters the Marxist-Leninist denial of God in the name of humanity by our speaking in the name of humanity, by our asserting the true honor and dignity of the human race under God. We, as Americans, are affirming, by our very presence here today, the great principles of God-given justice and charity. Yet countless radio stations, news agencies and editorial offices and even government-sponsored programs are insistently, persistently accusing us in the United States, in every language of the globe, of flagrantly violating these same principles.

Here at home these words may sound like mere rhetoric. But they are full of painful meaning when you drive at midnight through vast, silent plains of some distant country, and hear these accusations piped over the radio, and learn, in daily conversation with Christian and non-Christian alike, the impression they make upon the minds of even the best disposed and most thoughtful people. Only then does one realize how much is implied in those simple words: "This is what we, as Americans, are gathered in Chicago to affirm." The difficulty troubling us Americans in coping with communist propaganda, once we leave our own shores, is the fact that we forget that Marxism-Leninism, like all powerful heresies, is not solely and merely an error; solely and merely a denial of God and o His sacred law. If that is all it were, it could neve achieve its immense influence. Supporting the er ror is a hypnotizing vision of world humanity Coupled with that vision is a certain type of per verted, upside-down moral appeal. If the Marxis vision did not proclaim a certain grandeur, if it di not make a moral appeal, even its rigid iron rul could never command allegiance over such masse of human beings.

In direct opposition to the Marxist vision, th Catholic teaching on interracial justice affirms th real, the genuine greatness of the human race a it comes from the hands of its Creator, as it i destined to eternal companionship with Him i heaven. It affirms, in other words, the truly *catho lic* view of man. It insists, in the first place, upo the sublime natural dignity of each individual per son, even though the effects of original sin burde him and the heritage of actual sins drags hi down. It proclaims the entire gamut of each in dividual's rights and responsibilities under God It teaches likewise that "marvelous vision," in th words of Pope Pius XII, of the natural unity o the human race.

Finally, it sees mankind, each individual and th human race as a whole, transformed by the glor of the divine adoption. In other words, it pro claims mankind's true glory precisely for all hu manity, and for each individual as members of tha great whole.

Every part of this vision is brought alive, as i were, by the great basic teaching of the univer sality of the Church Catholic in her make-up an constitution; Catholic by her universal mission t all mankind; Catholic, finally, in her recognition o all that is good, all that is just, true, and noble i every human being.

I have dwelt upon this Christian vision of th human race, precisely because I believe it is ur gently important that we emphasize it before th entire world at the present day. We cannot comba the hypnotic power of the Marxist vision by mer criticism, however valid and necessary that criti

sm may be. We must meet its total claims by an finitely more compelling total. That much we are lled to do; that much we *can* do, if we but bring fairly and squarely into the reality of our own es.

Let us also keep in mind that even if commusm were to vanish overnight, our communities ould still be left to cope with the devastating rces of racism, fanatical nationalism, blighting cularism, crude materialism and their destructve consequences. Moreover, we cannot separate cial from religious prejudice. If people are hated d discriminated against because of their racial igins, the door is left wide open to similar abuses religious or anti-religious pretexts.

This means, in short, that if our great Christan assertion is to mean anything, it cannot rest the field of lofty generalities. It must be evienced in the intimate, day-by-day experiences of ur daily conduct. It must be evidenced clearly nd precisely in the treatment of each and everyne of our fellow human beings. As St. John hrysostom says: "We always need faith, and a fe radiant with virtues: nothing else can save s." Our faith must be exemplified in our local ommunities, in our religious associations, in our arishes, in our family relationships. People hould only need to look at the multiform membership of a Catholic parish, or school, or organization, or institution to see at once that the word atholic means *catholic*, that is, truly universal

onflicts and Obstacles

All this is easy to assert; but immediately we re up against familiar and stubborn obstacles. hese do not affect any one region of our country – east, west, north, or south alone, though certain ocalities have their special difficulties. The human elations problems we face are universal: they exist n nearly every great populated center of the land. ven where people cheerfully claim, "we have no roblems," it may not be long before the tide of rouble may reach there, too.

There is no mystery about the origin of these onflicts: they are a natural consequence of the imense mobility of the modern age, a phenomenon ou find all over the world, and particularly here n the United States, where one third of our total opulation, it is said, changes its habitat each year. ence good people, quiet, honest citizens, faithful nembers of stable religious communities, are grievusly troubled by invasions of newcomers. Old rontiers of respectability break down, while alarm nd fear hold the center of the stage.

John LaFarge, S.J., pioneer in the Catholic Interracial Council Movement, keynoted the first National Conference in Chicago.

At the city-wide conference in this city of the Mayor's Committee on Human Relations, May 29, 1957, the result of such expansion was ably summarized by Annabel Carey Prescott, of the Committee on Human Relations, Chicago's Public Schools:

> Chicago's expansion is bringing to the city and to the schools and to teachers who have never worked with them before, children from the impoverished and congested sections of Puerto Rico, from the impoverished and sparsely settled areas of Mexico, from the rural sections of the deep South and the backward mountain regions of Kentucky and Tennessee. It is bringing displaced migrants from foreign shores and relocated native Americans from the Indian reservations. And with them come new classroom challenges — retardation and overageness, of course, the lack of requisite educational background. But quite as challenging, and quite as difficult of solution are the problems rooted in the differentials in social background, culture patterns, aspiration levels, value systems.

Add to this difficulty the results of social change, especially the rapid industrialization of great masses of our population and the consequent breakup of rural homes. All this is complicated by deepseated ignorance and prejudice, especially upon the subject of race. It is harsh and bitter for many of our fellow citizens to realize, though the realization is slowly but steadily making its way, that no escape can be found from these troubles by any process of compulsory racial segregation. At one time segregation of a paternal nature sold itself as an apparently beneficent remedy. Apart from its obvious injustices, today it is seen as increasingly unworkable under the complex conditions of modern life. Moreover, the grave wrongs it involves become more and more evident with every advance in education and civic responsibility.

The Catholic interracial movement, therefore, is not content merely to proclaim generalities; it undertakes to face these obstacles head-on, in the firm belief that through God's grace and the normal operation of human wisdom remedies can be found, and unity, peace, and strength can be built even out of present conflict. It undertakes, in other words, to face these obstacles concretely and strives patiently as far as possible to remove the conditions and misconceptions that create enmity and disorder.

There is much talk of cooling-off periods, of exerting great patience and going slow. Caution and patience are basic virtues; but exhortations to prolonged inaction are meaningless if they are used, as is not infrequently the case, as a mere excuse for doing nothing. Once that reasonably prompt action is indefinitely delayed, the forces of disorder have ample time to build up their aggressive strength. Many of the worst interracial situations that exist today would not have come to pass if such reasonably prompt action had been exerted a couple of decades ago.

The Principle of Joint Action

Essential to the Catholic interracial movement is the idea of joint or common action, among all concerned. Such common action is the very lifeblood of our movement: that we pray together, study together, work together, as far as is humanly possible. For this reason we cannot be content to abandon the burden of the movement entirely to either group or any one group. This is not a question of white men laboring to improve the conditions of the Negro's life — or the Mexican's, or the Puerto Rican's, or the American Indian's, or the Oriental's. Nor is it the reverse, the minority element struggling angrily and unaided to obtain decency and justice. On the contrary, it is a question of all of us working for a common goal: for the common good of the community, for those public matters which are our joint interest. For if one member of our body suffers, then all suffer alike. Racial prejudice or discrimination are as much a curse to those who inflict them upon a minority group as they are upon the victims themselves. It means that the victims of prejudice cannot assume a martyr's pose, and place all the burden upon their oppressors. They, too, have the grave responsibility to work for the common good of all, to shoulder their share of the burden, and to be on the lookout for the spread of racial prejudice in reverse, which politicians can cleverly exploit.

It means not only working with one another for a common good, in a racial sense, but it means working with all people of good will, wherever and whenever we can find them. And for the very purpose of such co-operation, it is imperatively necessary that we, as Catholics, should be equipped with our own adequate form of organized effort.

A Positive Opportunity

But obstacles are likewise an opportunity. The very greatness of these difficulties, the rigorous demand they make upon all resources of ingenuity, patience, and unselfishness, are the pledge of abundant fruit for those who will surmount them. Our work does not consist merely in removing the causes of division. It has a much higher aim, it seeks a much more positive result. Underlying all our work is the firm belief that each component of our American life makes its own contribution to the good of the whole. This is the spirit, the genius of our nation. America has grown strong not by carefully cultivating a racial and cultural uniformity, but by opening its doors wide to all peoples, incorporating them into our civic and our religious life. This is the marvel, the very sinew of our nation's strength. It is the spirit of America, and it is the spirit of our Church as well, which grows strong and pulsates with spiritual life to the extent that it, in turn, is made up, clergy and lay, o many nations; as St. Paul says, of a great diversit of gifts, according to the work of the Spirit o God.

We must talk of problems to keep from branch ing off into mere generalities. But over and be yond the problems is the positive goal to releas the good in all our racial groups for the benefit o the entire community, the nation, and the worl

The Educational Program

Such, in very summary fashion, is a slight ou line of what we are aiming at. But there are fou or five points I should like to emphasize more i detail concerning the work of the Catholic Inte racial Councils.

1. The work of the CIC's is primarily educ tional, in the broad sense of that term. In ever part of our country an accumulation of ignoran and misunderstanding has to be overcome. Dee seated prejudices and unreasoning fears need to b weighed carefully against historic backgrounds an genuine alarm at the harsh aspects of sudde change. Blatant lies call for constant and patien refutation. Plain truths need to be told to all co cerned, while ways and means are explored f building up mutual confidence. It is a questio therefore, of using all legitimate means and medi from the school and college textbook to the pre and the TV and radio program. It means, furthe more, a quota of methodical study upon the part all who engage in such work, for there is no read simple formula for success. Programs of study an education imply, from their very nature, a centr core of serious research, and the preparatio where feasible, of trained workers in the field human relations. Such trained workers will be pe sons thoroughly grounded in Catholic social do trine and at the same time well versed in expe modern techniques.

Many of our otherwise zealous and well-inform lay Catholics, when first confronted by the Church teaching on such matters as the obligations flowin from our membership in the Mystical Body Christ; or from the teachings of the Church human unity; or the moral wrongs that adhere practices of racial segregation and discriminatio complain: Why have I never heard this preach in our churches or taught in our Catholic school In order to meet just such an objection, in son dioceses of this country the plan was adopted occasional, or at least an annual sermon upon the matters of interracial justice. In order to affo practical help for such a plan, some 27 emine Catholic clergymen around the country, three them bishops, kindly contributed in recent times a set of sermon outlines, for private distributio

ich I was able to have published in manuscript 'm. The notion of the sermon outlines was the ggestion of several experienced priests with om I had discussed the aforesaid complaints, in- ding two of our southern bishops. These ser- n outlines were sent to each of our Hierarchy d those of us who collected them were greatly en- uraged by the cordial welcome they received.

2. The query is sometimes made: Why should ere be a specialized program in the field of inter- cial justice? Are not the implications of this ovement contained in the whole scope of Catholic irituality and the various forms of the Catholic ostolate?

To this I would reply: Yes, all that is true, in ct more true than is generally realized. The estion of racial tensions — of their significance d their influence on our human relations — affect arly every aspect of our public life. We need ly look at our country's entire political history r the past 150 years, at our art and literature, r national sports, our parishes, to be convinced this. The same is true of our Catholic aposto- te. In one way or another the race question is volved in practically each of the great lines of ork that this apostolate has developed: our re- eat movement — for men and women; our parish cieties; our flourishing family life movement; e various phases of the Catholic social action ovement. The family life movement is naturally ncerned about problems that confront young ouseholds in their search for decent homes and emunerative employment and wholesome recrea- on. The entire urban renewal and development nd housing programs is intimately bound up with acial questions. Indeed it is difficult to find any art of our social life that is not in one way or an- ther affected by the racial situation, and this is articularly true of our American trade unions.

The same remark applies to the ever-growing turgical movement and to the Church's missions, whether home or domestic, in every phase. Racial rejudice threatens them and interferes with their evelopment, at home and abroad. Last but not east, I would mention the Catholic press, for with- ut the active, constant co-operation of the Catho- c press and of our great Catholic national lay or- anizations, the Catholic interracial movement would never get off the ground.

If we lived in a different epoch and with a very ifferent historical background, we might be con- ent to leave the burden of interracial justice to ll the organizations and organized movements that re so deeply concerned by it. But the stark fact emains that the problems caused by racial and roup tensions are so acute, so specialized that in he circumstances of the world as it is today, they annot be effectively treated as mere side issues. They can only be met adequately head-on, by direct confrontation, humbly, patiently, yet unflinchingly in the full light of our holy Faith, and it is with this special aim in view that the members of the various CIC's have dedicated themselves to this difficult task.

A quarter of a century's experience confirms the wisdom of this judgment, and there is little reason to believe that it will be any less valid for the future. It becomes particularly important to develop far and wide the true Christian attitude on race, in view of the ever-increasing attention paid to our own situation abroad.

So urgent is the need for intelligently organized action alone that we cannot in the least be satisfied with accomplishments up to the present time. Our 35 Councils are a beginning, but only a praiseworthy beginning. We need immediately, in the nearest possible future, 50 more Catholic Interracial Councils around the United States, if we are at all to measure up to our demands. Moreover, I believe that this goal is entirely attainable, by the use of a certain amount of energy and enterprise on the part of existing Councils and their friends. With our existing equipment we are always glad and ready to offer every facility in organizing new Councils, where proper authorization can be obtained. Let me say parenthetically what I would wish to expand at much greater length, that none of our present development would be possible were it not for the enlightened leadership of the CIC's main architect, Mr. George K. Hunton.

3. The problems we consider are national, indeed world-wide in scope. For this reason, no one part of the nation is in a position to sit in judgment upon another. We all live in glass houses, and each of us has ample work to set our own particular house in order.

This does not mean, however, that we in the North and West should be indifferent to the critical conflicts now raging in many of the southern states. It is not for us to try to settle from without the affairs that can only be determined at a local level — as, in turn, we around the country do not feel too happy at some of the attempts made by politically powerful southern legislators and publicists to affect the course of interracial justice in the nation at large. What we can do, however, and I believe certainly should do, is wholeheartedly to encourage those moderate elements among our southern brethren who wish to bring reason and sanity into the turmoil of local conflicts. Such great-hearted men and women know that there is no sense, despite talk of massive resistance and a barrage of elaborate legal constructs, in wasting time, money, and morale in striving desperately to maintain systems that from the very nature of things are doomed to disappear. Such encourage-

ment will go a long way toward strengthening the band of persons who are intimidated by noisy and violent elements.

We can encourage them by our prayers, first of all, and by recognizing efforts that are made locally to insist that neither our country nor our Church has room for any form of second-class citizenship. We can sincerely regret that the fine, moderate and constructive work of an organization like the Catholic Committee of the South has had, apparently, to suspend operations. And we can welcome the phenomenal patience shown by so many of the American Negro people under great trial and provocation, and honor the remarkably capable and intelligent program of a leader like Dr. Martin Luther King.

Much as one would like to separate the situation in the South from the rest of the country, the fact remains that the eyes not only of the nation but of the whole world are centered upon the events in Little Rock. As the Justices of the Eighth Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals said in their decision at St. Louis, Missouri, on August 18, reversing the suspension of integration at Little Rock:

> This issue plainly comes down to the question of whether overt public resistance, including mob protest, constitutes sufficient cause to nullify an order of the Federal Court directing the [school] board to proceed with its integration plan. We say the time has not yet come in these United States when an order of a Federal Court must be whittled away, watered down, or shamefully withdrawn in the face of violent and unlawful acts of individual citizens in opposition thereto.

These forthright words of the Eighth Circuit Court apply to a particular place and a particular situation. But if we disregard them and make light of them, we shall one day unpleasantly awake to the opening that such negligence will offer to mob violence in any part of the country, in any situation where human passions strive to prevail.

5. The question of Negro-white relationships occupies the forefront of most of our programs. The Negroes, after all, are by far the largest racial minority group in the United States, one that suffers under a peculiar and unique system of handicaps. Moreover, the emotional conflict is much more intense in the case of the Negroes, for historical and political reasons. Nevertheless, our program would be defective unless it takes into full account the other great sources of racial and cultural conflict in the United States. In many parts of the country, for instance, our Councils are cooperating with the Church's work for the Spanish-speaking peoples — Mexicans and Puerto Ricans — and such co-operation certainly can be greatly expanded.

It is certainly impossible for us as Catholics to be indifferent to the difficult and often tragic situation of the various tribes of the American Indians. With a cultural background totally different from that of any other people in our midst, they have a special and peculiar claim to our aid. This is particularly important and practicable since the many tribes of the American Indians are now united as never before in the struggle to preserve against robbery and encroachment their rightful claims to tribal property. Furthermore, it is certainly in line with our principles to aid in the painful difficulties of relocating de-tribalized Indians in our great urban centers. We are happy that the united Indian effort to conquer their difficulties is represented by delegates to this convention.

A View from Abroad

Let me mention, in conclusion, a recent experience. Some four weeks ago I visited some very old friends of mine, Dr. Francis M. Hammond and his lovely wife and talented children at their home in Rabat, capital of Morocco. Dr. Hammond is cultural attaché at the United States embassy in Rabat, charged with the work of interpreting American life and manners to the people of that newly independent and progressive kingdom. He is a Negro, a Catholic, former professor of philosophy at Seton Hall University, and one of the pioneer workers in the Catholic interracial movement. His contacts, over several years of experience, have taught him that what we do and say here at home in the treatment of our neighbor is far more keenly scrutinized abroad than we here like to believe. Our domestic actions and policies have surprisingly far-reaching international consequences.

During a couple of weeks stay far in the interior of that amazing country I lived and talked intimately with a variety of its leading citizens, Moslems and Christians alike. They were people concerned with the intricate task of adjusting the country's backward economy and its half feudal society to the harsh requirements of modern, rapid-fire industrialization and mechanization. These people might entertain all kinds of notions about the United States, and there were plenty of unfriendly elements, some of them communist-inspired, to keep the hostile comments going. But a profound impression was made upon the leaders in that country by the single fact that this particular man dearly loved his own country, not in spite of his being a Negro and a Catholic, but precisely because as a Negro, and as a believing Christian and a Catholic, he felt he had a deep stake in his country's future. For this particular representative of American thought, life, and morals, to be a Negro and to be an American were the same. They noted with great interest that the Church here was combating the same prejudices that are creeping up in many parts of old European countries, they were

npressed that we in the United States did have ractical and viable interracial programs. What ere might look like mere sentiment was under ıose conditions a living reality.

I say they were moved and impressed, because ıey saw in what we are doing in the United States nd are engaged in these three days here in Chica- o, an example of the spirit of true brotherhood nd deep reverence for God's holy law. That spirit s greatly needed as one by one these countries — ll over Africa and the East — emerge into a new xistence: countries now troubled with their own acial and nationalist disorders.

Both fellow Christians and Moslems among the Hammonds' associates were moved at discovering hat the religious people in the United States, and he Catholic Church in particular, were actively ngaged in an all-embracing work of true brother- ıood among the varying and discordant elements n our national community.

These people are realists and not sentimentalists. Most of all they were struck by the fact that these particular American citizens put directly their own religious convictions into daily practice, through a generous example of friendliness, open hospitality, and true personal regard for the people among whom they lived: Arab, Berber, and European alike. As the vast African continent opens up to the full impact of our Western civilization — with its virtues and its defects — these same considerations will apply in each emerging country of Africa.

The CIC's Challenge

These are some of the lessons we have learned by our experiences. The comparative fewness of our numbers and the imperfection of our efforts have no relation to the far-flung implication of the interracial cause itself. The Catholic interracial movement is in the main a movement of lay persons acting under the guidance of their respective bishops and their appointed chaplains, and their collective utterance carries the weight only of their own opinions. As lay people, they take the risks and make the ventures that such a work entails. We will meet with difficult and even discouraging problems, but our confidence is not in ourselves, but in the work of the Church itself and in God's Providence whose guidance we implore. Divine grace, alone, that springs from the Heart of Jesus upon the Cross and is made ever present to us in the Eucharistic Sacrifice, can ultimately touch and truly unite the wayward hearts of men. But we, at least, can do our share toward improving the conditions that make the operation of God's grace possible. Let us never lose sight of the challenge as well as of the certain triumph of our cause.

A Challenge to Communities

We cannot afford to neglect the fact that the housing shortage for Negroes measurably complicates our efforts toward desegregation. The pressure generated by the shortage results in Negroes coming into white areas in numbers so large that, instead of gaining integration, we discover we have merely extended the segregated enclave.

Exactly what an "integrated" community might be, no one, we believe, can say with certainty. Obviously it is one in which significant numbers of people of both the major races reside.

Among the remedies at our disposal, two recommend themselves. First, we must eliminate the housing shortage for Negroes. Secondly, we must have community organization to ensure that Negroes do gain access to our communities, but not to the degree that we merely extend the boundaries of the racial ghetto.

Our communities will, we believe, learn that they must dispose their human and material resources in such a fashion that they are the masters of the trends of the time, rather than allow circumstances to master them. As communities gain control over their own future, they shall be excellently situated for seeing to it that Negroes are welcomed in a number and manner that will both assure them continued existence and growth, and at the same time accord to the Negro middle classes the rights that are incontestably theirs.

✠ Albert Gregory Meyer, D.D.
Archbishop of Chicago

A Christian Conscience and Interracial Justice

William J. Kenealy, S.J.

TWO years ago, at a Red Mass in New Orleans, it was my privilege to address the bench and bar of Louisiana on the subject of compulsory racial segregation. Because the audience consisted of members of the legal profession and was in large part non-Catholic, my remarks were confined to the legal and philosophical aspects of segregation; arguing that the recent *segregation decisions* of the United States Supreme Court were in complete harmony with, and as a matter of *due process* and *equal protection* were demanded by the genius of our Federal Constitution and the philosophy of the Natural Law; and stating that "the segregation issue constitutes, in my opinion, a formidable challenge to the intellectual vigor, the moral courage, and the genuine patriotism of the legal profession."

I spoke as a lawyer to lawyers. Nevertheless, in my capacity as a Catholic priest, speaking in an historic old Cathedral of the South, I felt constrained to point out in conclusion that "there is no question whatsoever as to the position of the Catholic Church on the issue of compulsory segregation," and to add this final paragraph:

> The position of the Catholic Church has been clearly and courageously stated by His Excellency, the Archbishop of New Orleans. The philosophy of the natural law has always been embraced and elevated by the theology of the Church universal. The fundamental principle of the essential equality and dignity of every human being, and the essential unity of the entire human race, has been sanctified by the sacrifice of Calvary, illumined by the dawn of Easter, emblazoned by the fires of Pentecost, and heralded to the corners of the earth by the voice of Catholicism — proclaiming our common origin in the first Adam, our common redemption by the second Adam, and our common sanctification in the Mystical Body of Christ. Popes, archbishops, bishops, dogmatic and moral theologians, the unanimous judgment of the teaching Church is that compulsory segregation is objectively and morally wrong. It is a cancer in the body politic. It is a desecration of Christian civilization. We like to think that God is on the side of our American way of life; but it is true only to the extent that our American way of life is on the side of Him who said: "I am the way, the truth, and the life." In the eyes of God there is neither white nor black nor red nor yellow nor brown; neither Jew nor Gentile nor Barbarian nor Cythian, but all are brothers in Christ Jesus. "By this will all men know that you are My disciples, if you have love one for another."

This evening, before a national conference of Catholic Interracial Councils, it would be needless and impertinent for me to elaborate theological proofs of this simple statement of Catholic doctrine on the issue of racial segregation and other problems of race relations. You profess the doctrine, you know the problems, you seek the Christian solutions. That is the point and purpose of this conference. Unfortunately, however, there is an opinion or at least a suspicion among some even among some Catholics, that the Catholic interracial movement is based upon mere humanitarianism, or mere legalism, or mere liberalism, or mere sentimentalism. Such a notion, as you well know, is grossly in error. The Catholic interracial movement is founded, if you will, upon Christian humanism, upon Christian jurisprudence, upon Christian liberalism, upon Christian sentiment. For our movement is a following, and the following is of Christ. We strive to follow, with faulty and feeble footsteps, the lead of the divine Christ who was human also, like unto us in all things except sin; the just Christ, who will render to each man according to his works; the liberal Christ, who promised us the freedom of the sons of God; the loving Christ, who loved His own and loved them to the end. The aim of our movement is to follow the human, the just, the liberal, the loving Christ who unashamedly wept for His people, not as a Faubus over Little Rock, but as a Savior over Jerusalem. Our specific purpose, in the difficult field of race relations, is to make practical and effective, in private and public life, our own love for all those whom He loved unto death, even to the death of the cross. If this be sentimentalism, so be it.

The essence of Christian life is the supernatural following and imitation of Christ. But in His day too, there were invidious discriminations between persons and groups and races, the rich and the poor, the exalted and the humble, the respected and the despised, the Pharisee and the Publican, the Jew and the Samaritan — "For Jews do not associate with Samaritans." In such a setting, so much like our own, the example of Christ is clear and conclusive. He deliberately consorted with the poor, the humble, and the despised. He shocked the Pharisees by eating in the homes of Publicans and by selecting a Publican as one of His Apostles

mself a Jew, He confounded the Jews by preach-
the Gospel to the Samaritans. He surprised
n the Samaritan woman at the well by seeking
out and revealing Himself to her as the Mes-
h. Lest His actions be misunderstood, He drove
me the point by the parable of the rich man and
zarus, by the parable of the Pharisee and the
blican, by the parable of the Good Samaritan,
d by His constant preaching of the Gospel of
e.

His whole Gospel is a message of love, love of
d and love of neighbor, upon which two com-
ndments depend the whole law and the prophets.
e night before He made the supreme sacrifice of
e, at the solemn discourse at the Last Supper,
repeated, "This is My commandment, that you
e one another as I have loved you," and "By this
ll all men know that you are My disciples, if you
ve love one for another." Moreover, this love
hich is to be the test of His disciples is a visible
e in a visible unity. For after praying to His
ther for the Apostles at the table, He prayed for
also: "And not for them only do I pray, but for
em also who through their word shall believe in
e; that they all may be one, as Thou, Father, in
e, and I in Thee; that they also may be one in
s; that the world may believe that Thou hast sent
e." Wherefore Saint Paul wrote to the Corin-
ians: "For as the body is one, and hath many
embers, and all the members of the body, whereas
ey are many, yet are one body, so also is Christ.
or in one Spirit we were all baptized into one
dy, whether Jews or Gentiles, whether bond or
ee . . . there are many members indeed, but one
dy . . . And if one member suffer anything, all
e members suffer with it; or if one member
lory, all the members rejoice with it. Now you
re the body of Christ, member for member."

This love of God for man, and of man for God,
nd of man for man in the unity of the Mystical
ody of Christ, is the reason, the spirit, and the
urpose of the Catholic interracial movement. If
is be sentimentalism, the world could use more of
. After all, it forced the ancient world to ex-
aim in astonishment, "See how these Christians
ve one another!" It enabled the ancient pagans,
s Christ foretold, to recognize His disciples, and
o come flocking into His Church. And it empow-
red His Church, after centuries of struggle, to
liminate human slavery in the Old World where
er voice was heard, to do so without bloodshed,
nd to do so without leaving that bitter residue of
acial distrust, racial discrimination, racial segre-
ation, and racial hatred which afflicts the New
Vorld in which we live. But what the doctrine of
he Mystical Body of Christ has done for the Old
Vorld, it can do for the New, if we take the doc-
rine seriously. And that is our job.

The principle is clear. Unfortunately, however, clarity of principle does not mean facility of application in the tremendously complex social circumstances in which we live. Racial discrimination, whether in the North or in the South, whether by force of un-Christian snobbery or by force of unconstitutional law, is essentially the same evil. For the sake of illustration, consider the social system of compulsory racial segregation. Without question it is objectively and morally wrong; yet it exists as a matter of fact in a large part of our country. It gives rise to a vast number of problems of conscience to public officials, legislators, executives, judges; to administrators of public and private schools, hospitals and other institutions; to professional men, lawyers, doctors, teachers; to business men, hotel-keepers, restauranteurs, transportation officials and to private persons in their personal, domestic, and social lives.

For instance: May a Catholic legislator vote to enact or retain a segregation statute? Is he obliged to work for its repeal? May a Catholic voter cast his vote for a racist, even though the candidate is otherwise competent? May the administrator of a Catholic school system maintain segregated parochial schools? May the president of a Catholic institution draw a color line? May a Catholic college send its athletic team, minus its Negro star, to a segregated contest? May a Catholic conduct or patronize a segregated hotel, restaurant, or similar establishment? May a Catholic sit in the designated section of a segregated street car or bus, or may he, or should he, defy the immoral and unconstitutional statute and sit elsewhere? Apart from what, as a matter of casuistry, might be permitted in such matters, what obligations have different Catholics to fight against compulsory segregation? These, and a thousand other similar questions, can only be answered, it seems to me, in the concrete content of fact, intention, motive, and circumstance. General principles alone do not solve concrete cases; although, of course, concrete cases cannot properly be solved without general principles.

I have stressed the fact that the Catholic interracial movement is not motivated by mere humanitarianism, or mere legalism, or mere liberalism, or mere sentimentalism, but that it is inspired by the doctrine of the Mystical Body of Christ. And so it is. Nevertheless, the major problems we face are social problems existing in a pluralistic society, of which we are minority members, and of which the majority of our fellow citizens do not know the Mystical Body of Christ, because they do not share our faith. But they do share our race problems, which are chiefly community problems demanding a community effort for solution. Thank God there are so very many of our fellow citizens of differing

religious beliefs, men and women activated by the highest natural motives, who are willing and anxious to fight for interracial justice and charity. The logic both of our faith and our citizenship commands that we join forces to meet our common problems. For grace does not destroy nature, but consecrates it. Faith does not displace reason, but illumines it. Theology does not deplete philosophy, but elevates it. Religion does not dilute citizenship, but strengthens it. Wherefore, motivated as we are by the Mystical Body, for none other can satisfy us, we must join with all men of good will in a common effort to solve the greatest domestic evil of our time.

Remember, not so many years ago, when the armies of totalitarian states were shattering the civilization of Europe and drenching her peoples in human blood. Our own country was not as yet formally in the war; but the impact of the spreading conflict transformed the United States into 48 vast debating societies. The air was vibrant with shouts of principle and policy, of argument and rebuttal, of invective and recrimination, of fear and hysteria. In the headlines and over the airwaves, in the halls of Congress and in the forums of opinion, in public meetings and private gatherings, statesmen of renown and unknown men in the streets furiously debated the paramount issue of the day: intervention or isolation, should we get into the war or stay out. But suddenly the debate ceased. The issue was settled by others. The bloodstained fist of totalitarianism struck across the Pacific and plunged a dagger in our backs.

The roar of a plane, the crash of a bomb, and the cries of mangled and dying Americans echoed over the waters, into the hills, down the valleys, across the plains, and into the homes of all our land, East, West, North and South. The shock of Pearl Harbor paralyzed us for a brief and fearful moment; but the next instant it galvanized us into unanimous and unified action. Our debates were ended. Our arguments were done. Our disputes were over. From all the land, from farm and factory, from home and school, from ambitions and careers and loved ones, in a stupendous dedicatory crusade, there rushed American youths — millions of them, white and black and brown and yellow and red, of all religions and of all national origins — to camp, to ship, to plane, to foxhole. A united voice from platform and pulpit, from radio and press and newsreel, implored them to do battle against the scourge of totalitarianism which had the world by the throat; inspired them to fight, to suffer, to die if necessary — not in the name of snobbery, or class distinction, or racial segregation — but, in so many words, for the American philosophy of life, for the four freedoms everywhere, for the liberation of small nations, for the equal rights of minorities, for the natural rights of all men, for the dignity of the human personality; that by their sacrifice the lights of liberty might go on again, all over the world.

So inspired they fought, they suffered, and many of them laid down their young lives, on the seven seas and in every land from Berlin to Tokyo. Who can forget them? I cannot. I cannot, because it was my privilege to know many of them, to live with them, to laugh with them, to fear with them, to grieve with them, to confess and anoint them, to love them. I cannot forget them because in the acrid smoke and lurid flame and deafening thunder of battle I saw them go down; and in the pitch blackness of the night, in the Marianas, in the New Hebrides, in the Philippines, I buried them in the unsegregated sea.

Yes, these, our own, are dead — white and black and red and yellow and brown. I cannot wipe away the sorrow of their passing. But neither can I ever lose the inner peace and fierce pride which stems from the conviction that they died, under the living God, for something worthwhile. They threw back and conquered the external enemy. They won the war. And yet, 15 years later, we are still debating, still arguing, still making our pretty little speeches and writing our fine learned briefs, to decide whether or not, after all, we intend to practice the ideals we asked them to die for. Fifteen years later, may God forgive us, we are still segregating the living and the dead. We are still rending the Mystical Body of Christ! And would to God that the sufferings of this Mystical Body came entirely from without, and in no way from fellow members.

William J. Kenealy, S.J., teaches at the School of Law, Loyola University, Chicago.

★ ★ ★

Reprints Available

Reprints of this 30-page special report on the *First National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice* are available from Fides Publishers, Notre Dame, Indiana. The publishers of *Apostolic Perspectives* are happy to make these reprints available at the following quantity rates: 1 copy – 25¢; 50 copies – 20¢; 100 copies – 15¢; 500 copies – 10¢; 1,000 copies or more – 5¢.

The Catholic Interracial Councils in Perspective

John Yancey

THE Catholic Interracial Councils are instruments conceived in the Christian faith which e accept. They are instruments designed to proice a product. That product is the respect of man r man, in all phases of human endeavor, through e recognition of the equality of all men in the ght of God.

The power to move our Councils to the attainent of these noble ideals must be generated by ie men and women who comprise the membership. he success or failure of our individual council's forts, or our program as a whole, depends upon ie degree of sincerity, responsibility, and initiave displayed by the membership.

Membership

Are we strong in membership? Obviously the nswer is No. The magnitude of the problems ith which we are confronted demands the help of housands yes, hundreds of thousands more than ie combined numerical strength of our 35 councils. ur constant concern is how best we can overcome ie apathy and in some communities the fear of soial ostracism which serves as a deterrent in the ecruitment of a larger membership.

What of the quality of our potential membership? t is undoubtedly as good as the potential memberhip of any voluntary movement in the field of uman relations. But the effectiveness of our proram could be improved if there were a greater otential who would accept and advance the ideals f our program.

From personal observation and with due conideration of prudence and charity, I have divided ur potential membership into five categories:

- Those of good will, who are in the majority.
- Those with a passive interest.
- Those of little courage, who tremble when confronted with a serious problem.
- Those who participate because they must keep up ith the Joneses.
- Those who carry chips on their shoulders.

We owe the life of our councils to those of good ill who have affiliated with us. It has been their reless and persistent efforts that have sustained s through many dark days and perplexing problems. Our future and our ultimate success rests in their hands.

To those with a passive interest, we can but hope that this weak spark will at some point kindle into a flame of interest. Our councils cannot survive on passivity, our membership must be an active one. The problems are too great and the demand of time too pressing.

But what of those of little courage? It is quite clear that they have not rid themselves of the fear of unfriendly criticism. Time and again they stretch the virtue of prudence tissue-paper thin in order to shield their fear of public opinion. We do not hold them up to scorn but pray that the light of understanding may ultimately come to them.

Then there are some members who are overwhelmed by names of important people; those who like to bask in the mythical reflected glory — glory which they erroneously believe comes from name association on honorary committees and various boards. A cocktail party, a tea or a banquet attended by the Greats, becomes an interracial accomplishment of great proportions. These are those who follow the Joneses. To them the purpose and substance of our interracial programs is obscure. They are not truly committed to the cause.

We also have the fifth category — the super-sensitive. Those who weigh every word, who watch every gesture of their colleagues with suspicion. Those who feel the gun and sabre method is the solution to our council problems and scorn the solid constructive approach which our experience dictates.

To those in this category we must say that their technique is self-defeating. Suspicion breeds hate and hate is all consuming. It destroys clear thinking and leaves scars that are difficult to heal.

Be this as it may, this is the potential from which we must recruit our members. We must strive to coordinate it, to enlighten it, to make it feel the moving dynamic need to advance shoulder to shoulder without waver and without friction, to meet our common enemy.

Organization

We must also face the problem of administration, the focal point of our activity. Some of our coun-

cils are fortunate in that full time personnel carries the day-to-day demands of administration. Others are directed by volunteers whose time is limited. But whether full time or volunteers, we must extend them our heartfelt thanks for a job well done in the face of difficult circumstances and with small and doubtful compensation. They are the salt of the earth.

Our policy boards are composed of busy people, people whose vocations permit the allocation of only a few hours a month to planning and guiding the efforts of staff; to budget financing and public relations.

It is these who comprise the heart of the organization. Their decisions can mean the success or failure of the council on any given problem. It is they who from month to month face that bogyman — the budget.

The board of every voluntary organization faces its budget with fear and trembling, and our policy boards are no exception to the rule. Certain well known techniques of fund raising have been devised and our boards are constantly in search of new ones. We must, however, avoid the ever present danger of entrapment.

Many volunteer organizations have foundered on the shoals of budget financing. This is the trap. Staff is asked to assist in raising the budget. Some phase of the program is deferred to grant the time. Eventually more staff is withdrawn and more of the program deferred until this develops. Staff raises a budget to pay its salary and the organization is on a merry-go-round. The ideals are lost and the program is in chaos. What is the answer? Keep our council staff off the budget. The budget is not the end we must seek. It is a means to the end.

These are the elements with which we must work — the problems we must face first in forging our councils into the instruments to meet the common foe of man-made iniquities in our civilization. Iniquities that deny the will of our Creator and seek artificially to establish superior and inferior beings on the basis of race, nationality, or religion.

Gains in 25 Years

A sharp scrutiny of our councils mirrors our weakness, but it also mirrors our strength and our gains against terrific odds. From our council in New York 25 years ago, we now have 35 scattered across the nation with others in process of formation.

We have played an important role in developing understanding in human relations. Through this painstaking method, we have recruited many followers. We have been in the vanguard in seeking corrective legislation in many states, counties, and municipalities. Time and again we have provided sound and sure counsel that has maintained emotional balance in areas of strife when violence has flared.

But most of all, we have revealed, through action, the true meaning of Catholicism to many, where doubt was in the ascendency. We cannot claim credit for the increase in Negro converts to the Catholic Faith; however, there is evidence that our steadfast courage in the face of trying circumstances and our lay action for the cause of justice has been an influencing factor. Today, it is estimated that the Negro Catholic population is 575,000.

What are the problems before us? They run the gamut of every phase of human endeavor. They embrace education, employment, housing, civil rights, and all shadings in between where race discrimination has become entrenched.

We deal with the causes of discrimination as well as the visible manifestation. These are the lack of understanding, apathy, fear, hate, pride, and perfidy.

We know that race discrimination will never be eliminated until people, all people, acknowledge the oneness of people with God.

As we meet in this important conference, our daily papers are filled with the spectacle of Little Rock. We are reminded of the Supreme Court decisions; the principal character in this debacle Governor Faubus; of the blight on the lives of the youth of that city, white and Negro, and most of all, of those misguided souls who daily recite the Apostles' Creed which for them is not an act of Faith but an act of perjury; those who cry out their belief in God on the one hand, and on the other act their disbelief of His creation of man in His own likeness and image.

Then we direct our thinking to other areas Prince Edward County, Virginia, for instance standing by watching Little Rock; of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and all the areas where law and order have become the tools of demagogues and the damnable animal instincts of humans are on the rampage.

We view the problem of discrimination in employment and rejoice at the gains that have been achieved on the record, but we are not satisfied with the real gains which are revealed by the high percentage differential of unemployment between white and Negro workers. This is proof that the Negro is still the last hired and the first fired and that promotional opportunities have lagged even in the face of recorded gains.

In Illinois we are astonished to find that our employment service which, for the record, has eliminated race designations, still secretly uses a code to identify Negro applicants. In how many other

nstances, in this and other states, is this device pplied?

Our increasing population and our failure to increase proportionately our supply of housing has et the stage for racial conflicts in many urban enters. This is a sensitive area because the home s the repository of all of man's most cherished possessions. He has been conditioned by myths and ntruths to accept certain neighbors and reject thers, and strange faces are the targets of his resentments.

But we will diligently work to create open occuancy in all housing through education and understanding and we congratulate our New York council and its delegates who played an important role n the passage of the New York City open occuancy ordinance.

The programs of our Catholic Interracial Councils must deal in that broader field known as civil ights, a term which encompasses most of the areas ve have covered in this discussion and others of qual importance, specifically the right to vote and he right to the unrestricted use of all public facilities.

These rights are denied persons of darker skins housands of times per day in many communities n one form or another. These denials have become o constant over the years that a pattern of thinkng has been formed and has given not one but several meanings to the term civil rights. The meaning varies in some instances from community o community, and from state to state.

We believe that the right of every citizen to participate in the selection of his officials in government and to have his opinions expressed by officials of his choice in legislative assemblies is paramount. We accept this as a problem and as a challenge.

We should never lose sight of the fact that apathy, inertia, indifference, and the tendency for Americans to be bystanders and observers of the passing scene are by no means confined to white Americans. This is particularly true in the Catholic interracial movement, which is a challenge for white and Negro Catholics working together with cooperation, sharing all of the responsibilities.

Equal justice for the Negro and the sharing of all of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship cannot be handed over as a gift by white Americans, nor can they be achieved by Negroes working alone in a purely racial effort.

All racial problems in America are interracial in origin, have sad interracial consequences to both groups and by all means the solution must come from the cooperation of both races working for a true social order, equal social justice, and the common good.

During our period of progress we have been reassured by the soundness of our principles and the effectiveness of our policies and programs.

We have not relied upon financial endowments — though all of us have need for more funds to carry on our efforts and to extend our influence and multiply our achievements.

We have been encouraged that our movement has secured the active participation of Catholics in all ranks of leadership among educators, editors, journalists, writers, sociologists and leaders in labor, political, civic, and community life, as well as on the diocesan and parish level.

The work of the Catholic Interracial Councils has effectively demonstrated the idea that interracial justice is a winning cause. We would not turn back and seek to amend, modify or change our course.

Hence, today as we look back over our undertakings, we are assured that we can look ahead with courage and confidence that our dedicated efforts will be even more fruitful in the ensuing years.

Future Endeavors

To me, as one of the leaders in the Catholic interracial movement, it seems that our future endeavors should include a special effort to organize 50 or more Catholic Interracial Councils in different parts of the country. They are imperatively needed in these troubled times, with all of the problems that confront us on the local level, state level, and in the nation. There is a great need of united efforts devoted to perfecting and extending American democracy.

As a Catholic, as a Negro and as an American, I am supremely proud to be a part of this great movement with its great principles and high objectives. I am very happy to have been associated with this 25 year history of Catholic Interracial Councils in our efforts to abolish Jim-Crow laws and patterns; to help eradicate lynchings; to outlaw the KKK; to combat racism and the concept of racial inequality; for fair employment practice; for equal job opportunities; for integration in education in our neighborhoods and institutions. We must continue in the days ahead, as we have in the past, to call upon all branches of government — legislative, executive and judicial — and to emphasize and exemplify the precepts and principles of the Declaration of Independence, the American Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

We believe there is a challenge for continued participation of all Catholic leaders, organizations, and institutions to be exemplars of the American principles and Catholic teachings and to work together as Americans and as Catholics for social justice for all, regardless of race, color, or national origin.

John Yancey is a member of the staff of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. in Chicago and a director of the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago.

COMMISSION ON HOUSING

Real Estate

The following is an eight-point plan submitted by Arthur Rubloff, Chairman of the Arthur Rubloff & Co., Chicago, for those engaged in the real estate business for helping to solve the integration problem in housing.

1. The real estate profession must consider integration on the basis of matching the economic and intellectuals on a par in those areas where the mingling of whites and Negroes is taking place.

2. The real estate profession must work with existing citizen organizations and governmental agencies in integrated areas and take full advantage of the services and functions of such bodies.

3. The real estate profession must be educated to the necessity of bringing about integration with planned judgment and a better understanding of human, as well as race, relations. Experience indicates that integration will be accepted more readily if occupancy is planned on a gradual basis and is predominantly white to begin with — and, if given ample time to become accustomed to the others' ways and customs. A normal co-existence follows. The influx of Negroes into a given community in a given period of time should, if possible, be regulated and should be governed by the housing facilities of the area, as well as by the temperament of the people already living there.

4. The real estate profession should develop and carry out a continuous educational program directed towards the general public concerning these concepts:

► The influx of Negroes in a community does not necessarily mean deterioration of a community and devaluation of property.

► That a large percentage of Negroes have a high sense of morals and the recognition of the need for self-discipline.

► That there is no social disgrace in rubbing shoulders with minority groups.

► That integration in certain areas is inevitable, and one must accept this fact — Integration is here to stay.

► Men are used to integration as they brush up against it daily in their work and business associations, or as they have come in contact with it in government service in one form or another. The matter is wholly different with women, who for any number of reasons, have little desire to face the question. They have been protected from integration and are not mentally orientated to it. Hence, we must direct our educational efforts more effectively to our women folks.

5. The real estate profession should cooperate with a policing action, working in conjunction with the proper municipal bodies to ferret out offenders and inflict penalties on violations. In line with this, the following are but a few of the malpractices that the real estate profession should stress:

► Take the profit out of slums.

► Work with newspapers and local authorities to expose those who, for selfish gains, are exploiting the Negro or other minority groups in sub-standard housing.

► Negate the "creation of panic" by realtors and others who, in given areas, hope to force whites to sell at disaster figures.

6. Urge stronger zoning and building code regulations and enforcement.

7. Municipal and government agencies must enact legislation that will automatically wipe out slum and blighted property.

8. Encourage co-existence wherever and whenever feasible.

Civic Action

Mr. Bruce Sagan, publisher of three community papers in Chicago, discussed the urban renewal program in the Hyde-Park Kenwood area of Chicago in relation to civic activity involved in it. Some pertinent extracts from his talk follow.

Race relations in a northern metropolitan city become very much a problem of class rather than color. And one of the chief problems which we have, in a public relations sense, is demonstrating to the larger white community that there are middle and upper class Negroes, prepared to take their place in similar white communities on an equal basis.

We have found that strong community leadership is half your battle. . . . The fact of the matter is that the problem is always one of civic leadership. What happens is that the civic leadership takes a position: We're opposed to Negroes moving in, or we're for the Negroes moving in. The problem 98 per cent of the time is that the leadership takes the position: Negroes will not move in, and they fight tooth and nail to keep out the first Negroes.

Now, you can't keep out the first Negro. There's always some way of breaking the line. So the line gets broken and that one Negro family is enough to panic an entire community, because the leadership of that community has been telling the community for years, "We're going to keep them out." And then, of course, what happens when the panic starts is that there's just no holding it. It runs on at a tremendous rate of speed; houses go on the market; speculators move in; and the speculators convince the property owners that their property is going to go down in value when the reality is that in every Negro area in the city of Chicago, property is worth more than it is in any white area in Chicago. Then the panic spreads. Then the Negroes who need the housing desperately take it. There is very little leadership to counteract this. The area becomes all Negro.

Needless to say, the negative kind of civic leadership which says "Thou shalt not cross the line. Thou shalt not move across the

The Commission Reports on Housing, Parochial and Institutional Life, Employment, and Education were extracted from the tape recordings of the proceedings of the Conference. Each report is followed by the resolutions adopted by the commission.

treet," is the most destructive imginable to the development of any ntegrated housing.

egregation in Housing

Frances Levenson, Executive Director of the National Committee gainst Discrimination in Housing, xamined the merits of open occuancy legislation as an approach to liminate segregation in housing.

The problem of discrimination in ousing and segregation in most of ur cities is a major civil rights roblem. All the techniques we have eveloped and all the things that ve've been doing in the past ten ears have had a certain ameliorative effect, but they have not gotten o the basic problem.

I think that we have to try to tabilize neighborhoods. I think we ave to start with the idea, however, hat we will never be 100 per cent uccessful. This is a highly artifiial thing that we're trying to do, ut we are trying to gain time unil we can get to the basic problem, nd that is opening up the entire ousing market.

All the action that is going on now is laying the foundation, the groundwork for the real task ahead. I think we have done something in New York City that could be well copied in other communities and might hold the answer to the whole problem. I'm speaking of the area of law. It is the function of law to set the moral standard for the community. And it seems unthinkable that a community should permit certain of its citizens to live in circumscribed neighborhoods and be prevented from moving into other areas. Through law you are getting at the basic problem. You are taking steps to open the entire housing market.

In New York State in the past ten years we have taken the whole question step by step. Starting in 1950, the first state law was passed prohibiting discrimination in publicly assisted housing. This was further extended, finally, to include housing which received FHA and VA mortgage insurance. Still, this legislation covered only about 10 per cent of the total housing supply.

Last year New York City passed the Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs Law which prohibits discrimination in private housing. The way the law is phrased, it covers 90 per cent of the total housing supply in New York City.

Once the law establishes the moral code, the majority of people will adhere to it. Before the law is enacted, it is the unusual real estate operator who will take any action which is out of keeping with the mores of the business community. Once the law is enacted, these same realtors are in a slightly different position. Again, they don't want to take any action which is against the established law of the community.

We had great trepidation before the law was passed in New York City, but we have been pleasantly surprised. The law has created no riots; nothing has really happened to rustle the surface of life in New York City. At the same time, housing developments throughout the city are opening to qualified tenants and qualified purchasers.

Ultimately, I think legislation holds the greatest promise. But the tools and techniques that are used have to be determined by the temper of the community, the time and the place.

Lending Institutions

Emil Seliga, executive officer of the Talman Savings and Loan Association, Chicago, discussed the social role of lending institutions in face of the problem of racial change. Some of his remarks follow.

The savings and loan industry has a franchise to store the present purchasing power of citizens for their future use and to make the ownership of good and decent homes available to families of the community by the prudent lending of that purchasing power.

First, this industry must so organize itself and so conduct itself that it will return that purchasing power intact, worth as much as the day it was given to the institution. Second, our industry must so organize itself and conduct itself that it will be able to satisfy all the *effective* demand for housing.

What is it doing about this second obligation? First of all, it recognizes that there is a tremendous demand for housing. It recognizes it must attract a tremendous fund of capital, and since this capital is free to move out, to keep it "attracted" in these institutions. A lending institution is looking for business and any time it can make a loan, it will do so.

Since it is a person who contracts the debt and agrees to repay it, let's consider what standards he or she must meet. Actually there is really only one: to be able and willing to repay his debt. How do we satisfy ourselves that over the period of say twenty- to twenty-five years he will meet that test? As to his willingness, by looking back over his past to determine, first, whether he has cultivated the habit of living within his current income, and second, whether he has the habit of punctually meeting his freely contracted obligations, and third, whether he and his family consider a home worth enough to make special sacrifices for it in a pinch. As to his ability, by analyzing his current earnings, his potential, his age, his health, his family size, his other obligations.

We also must protect our savers' money by making an equally careful analysis of the property and the neighborhood — both their present and potential character. Do its residents have community pride? Do they meet decent moral and hygienic standards? How much have they paid for similar homes in the community? Will this specific house retain its value in the future, bearing in mind the many factors which influence other families to come into the community? How large is the potential market for this house in this community; what is the relationship of the loan to the current market value?

Our basic role is to make home ownership available to *all* people without regard to race, creed, or color. When a member of a minority group applies for a loan, meeting the standard of ability and willingness to pay and offering a property whose current and probable market value would backstop a safe return of our investment, he should and does receive the same consideration as any other borrower. No processing difficulties here.

Where our complications do arise is in what is commonly called

"changing neighborhoods." One of the major reasons minority groups have difficulties finding housing outside of the ghetto areas is not because of their color or racial origin, but because so many of them do not possess the habits, the morals, the attitudes of the people who live in the areas these newcomers would like to enter. There is no question of morality involved in this, but simply one of customs and standards.

The answer to this problem does not lie in lowering our standards, but rather in educating the minority groups to the point where the standards are raised to meet our minimum requirements.

The Home-building Industry

Morris Milgram, nationally known builder of non-segregated housing, discussed desegregation of the housing industry.

It is possible for the builder to give leadership in securing interracial justice in his own community. He will find that there are groups which will stand behind him, with press and radio support as well as with word of mouth, if he takes a moral position that all housing should be available to all people, without racial or religious discrimination. This is what I found to be true when I opened up my developments in the Philadelphia area. We found that a number of buyers were impressed with the affirmative position taken by the Catholic Interracial Council toward our integrated developments.

We have formed a national organization, Modern Community Developers, to help builders throughout the country with loans and advice. These loans will be for housing that is for all people. Not a cent will be loaned for all-Negro housing or for all-White housing. Where builders are not available, Modern Community Developers can build directly, or can buy apartment houses or land.

Other things the builder-realtor can do:

► Set policy clearly for all sales personnel so that the sales pattern will be about two-thirds white.

► Set up a resale agreement which gives his company the right to handle all resales at standard commissions.

► Pick sites where integration can succeed. No site in a ghetto can produce integrated housing, nor is one likely to be formed adjacent to one of the major ghettos in a city.

► Live your own principles. Teaching by example is easiest. Your customers will wonder about where you live.

► Get a staff, from job superintendent to office manager or secretary, that believes integration is essential in American life.

Changing Neighborhoods

Mark Satter exposed the activities of real estate speculators who plague changing neighborhoods.

I do not think there would be violence, or difficulty, or unpleasantness in changing areas were it not for the speculators who come into these areas to make them such that no one would want to live there.

A Negro couple bought a small, single-family cottage from a man who told them it was a terrific buy at only $9,950. The price is payable with only $1,000 down, at $100 a month thereafter, of which $60.00 is for interest. After about fifteen years, the house is theirs.

These people paid up to $8,400 but missed two payments. They also made some improvements. The speculator told them if they moved out, he would not sue them for the balance they owed. What he didn't tell them was that the day he sold it to them he had bought it for $3,000 at $500 down. His mortgage payments were only $50 a month.

What is the result of this typical speculator activity? The community sees the Negro family move in, and with it other families to help support the venture. The building runs down, there is overcrowding, etc. This is the evil that has caused racial tensions. In communities where the Negro family can move in and live pretty much like the family next door, the community will stay the same, stable and healthy.

In the customary relationships, the real estate broker, the lawyer and the mortgage company have distinct roles. The broker brings the people together. He gets paid a commission. The lawyer sees that his client gets what he bargained for, and he gets paid a modest fee. The savings and loan people put up the money, and they take a modest interest. In racially changing areas these relationships have broken down.

The mortgage banker, first of all, says, "I cannot lend money without a gilt-edged security." When this money is not permitted to work for Negro people, the speculator is able to buy up homes at depressed rates and re-sell them at his own terms to the Negro people at five and six times what he paid.

It is my belief we will not beat this problem until the savings and loan associations make public their position that the money of the people is available to all the people.

I believe that the profession of law has also abdicated its responsibility to the people.

It seems to me that we must establish the fact that a house worth one figure to one man is worth that figure to another man. I believe our courts have a duty to say that the practice of buying from whites at low figures and selling to Negroes at high ones is itself a fraud: that those who participate in it should not be granted licenses to practice either as brokers or as lawyers.

Overall Planning

Frank Sulewski, of the Chicago Bar Association, in discussing an overall approach to the housing problem, summarized the points of the commission.

I would have to disagree with all most all of the speakers who were suggesting that any one approach is a panacea to the problem of integrated housing. As a lawyer, I doubt that law alone is the key. I doubt that opening up mortgage markets and making moral men of all mortgage bankers will solve the problem. I think essentially that these are human problems and unless we recognize this and unless we recognize that we have before us problem that we must deal with day to day through our lifetime, and through the lifetime of our children we are going to be disturbed, disillusioned, and perhaps prone to escape the problem.

In all honesty, I think our efforts e doomed to failure unless we can ek out in every community the real wer structure and involve it in e problem that we are trying to lve.

HA

George W. Snowden, of the Fed-al Housing Administration, dis-ssed the impact of racial change the housing industry. His re-arks on the policies of the Federal ousing Administration are signifi-nt.

The National Housing Act of 934, among other things, estab-shed the FHA; its purpose being insure lenders against loss result-ng from loans they made for home urchase and home repair.

An examination of the National lousing Act will reveal that FHA s given no mandatory powers, and herefore its mortgage insurance rogram is voluntary on the part of enders and buyers. Inherent in this tatutory objective of FHA is a hilosophy which views its role as hat of an aid and a stimulant to rivate enterprise in bringing all actors of production to bear on the ousing demands of the consumer.

In its efforts to serve fully and dequately all segments of the effec-ive housing market, the FHA is urrently faced with somewhat of a dilemma. In the main, this dilem-na arises from the proponents and pponents of integration.

The proponents of integration ontend that factors in the market etarding the achievement of an in-egrated distribution of housing are found among the elements of sup-ply, i.e., financing, sales, appraising, insurance — and efforts to achieve this integrated pattern must be di-rected at the role of these produc-tive units within the market.

On the other hand, those who op-pose this approach contend that op-position to integrated patterns stem from characteristics now prevalent within the housing demand, and any efforts to effect integration must be directed to changing the nature of this demand.

One has only to review the charges and countercharges in order to observe this alignment. The Code of Ethics of Real Estate Boards, the mortgage insuring poli-cies of Federal agencies, the lending policies of financing institutions, land control policies of local govern-ing bodies, and the practice of build-ers and developers — all part of the machinery in the housing supply market — have been held individu-ally and collectively responsible for the absence of integrated patterns within this market.

On the other hand, it is argued that "people make value" and this value determination, controlled by the whims and caprices of the con-sumer units, dictates the pattern of productive activity.

Currently, there are few who con-tend that to a large degree the pres-ent "mind of the market" is inclined toward high esteem for housing in-tegration. Although increasing evi-dence is being assembled to indicate that there is a degree of acceptance, generally there appears to be slow response to residential integration among components of the housing demand, particularly in new con-struction located in suburban areas.

In this present controversy, one approach to integrated housing points in the direction of elimina-ting the use of government tools in supporting the position of racial, religious, or nationality homogeneity in the value concept.

In its efforts to broaden housing opportunities for minority groups, FHA has been requested to condi-tion its commitments with a require-ment that the sale or rental of the property be made available to any qualified applicant regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin.

The increased awareness of prob-lems confronting minority groups in acquiring housing commensurate with their means and choice, under the same conditions as others, has led to a definite trend towards seek-ing solutions through legal and legislative action. This has activated an inquiry into the possible legal base for preventing widespread practices of exclusion or restriction in housing wherever governmental assistance is involved.

This inquiry has followed three basic approaches.

► To persuade the administrative agencies to condition all govern-mental assistance in the production, financing, or marketing, of housing upon the requirement that sale, rental, and occupancy of such hous-ing shall be open to any eligible applicant without regard to race, creed, or color.

► Through litigation in the courts to seek decisions prohibiting racial exclusion or restriction in all gov-ernmental assisted housing as being contrary to the 14th amendment, the U.S. constitution, and various titles and sections of the United States Code dealing with the depri-vation of civil rights.

► To obtain enactment of legislation — Federal, State, and Municipal — prohibiting the practice of racial exclusion or restriction in all gov-ernmental assisted housing as being contrary to public policy.

As of this date several municipali-ties and states have enacted legis-lation prohibiting racial discrimi-nation and segregation in either public housing or public-assisted housing, or both.

There are indications today that the homebuilding fraternity — the National Association of Home Builders, the Mortgage Bankers As-sociation and others, assisted by Federal programs such as FHA, and more recently by the channels of the Voluntary Home Mortgage Credit Program, are beginning to recognize the merits as well as the profits in a racially unrestricted housing market.

The basic issue today is freedom and equality of human opportunity and treatment.

The Housing Supply

Monsignor John Egan, head of the Chicago Archdiocesan Commit-tee on Community Conservation, ad-dressed some remarks to the hous-ing needs of people in the low and middle-income groups.

I believe that although great strides have been made in recent years, we are still faced with a grievous housing shortage, particu-larly for low and middle-income groups, in our urban areas. This situation will not get better; it will undoubtedly get worse in our metro-politan areas. If this problem is to be solved and the goal of interracial living is to be achieved, a positive and constructive approach must be developed for urban renewal plan-

ning. This will necessitate the identification, the assessment, and the capture of the inherent potential for improving and equalizing housing opportunities for colored minorities and thus forestalling any dangers of worsening their lives.

These ends can be accomplished only by bringing about additions to the supplies of living space, housing accommodations, and finances now available to colored minorities. We must bring non-white families more fully into the free market place for housing by affording them the same opportunities as we afford other families.

A less positive, more negative approach to urban renewal runs the danger of working direct hardships on displaced families, increasing overcrowding in other areas, and furthering the exploitation of both white and colored people by the few unscrupulous real estate operators, all of which works to the general detriment of the community as a whole.

I feel, however, that all the tools and good will at our disposal will have little effect without a continuing and intelligent educational program at all levels and without the development of local community organizations which embrace all segments of the community structure and which are democratic in their roots and combine the best leadership of all the ethnic groups of a community. Such an organization must fight for the rights of all and not be exclusive, but have the arms of Christ stretched out to protect all, particularly those in greatest need.

Civic Action

John Lassoe drew on his experiences in neighborhood community action on the Lower East side of Manhattan, an area of four square miles involving 250,000 people, now some 30 per cent Puerto Rican and 8-10 per cent Negro.

The future of intergroup relations, at least in northern urban areas, lies primarily at the community or neighborhood level, especially in the area of housing opportunities. I believe city-wide groups with educational programs will turn more and more to neighborhood activities. This is where the key work will be done.

Secondly, I believe community organizations which will be effective in making residential integration a reality will not be intergroup-relations groups as such, but will be community development organizations privately supported. I think that this is the basis of democracy at the neighborhood level where citizens can come together, make decisions, and do things for themselves to improve their lot. Finally, these neighborhood organizations must have the support and active participation of the community power elements.

What do such organizations have to do to promote open neighborhoods? They can bring different groups — people of different ethnic groups — together around problems or projects of common concern.

Also, a neighborhood group should practice the principles of integration, rally some sort of informal inner core to work for open occupancy, and finally, be ready to bring all its forces to bear on any tense situations developed around housing.

Resolutions

Principles

1. The tenets of the natural law, which is universally binding on all mankind, and the basis for the morality of the entire Judeo-Christian culture, reject as immoral any theory that maintains the superiority of one race of human beings over other races, and any practices of discrimination against a race that fixes the status of the members of that race as permanently and universally inferior to that of another race.

2. The preamble to the Constitution of the United States reaffirms this truth of the natural law in its statement that all men are endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

3. It is an incontestable fact that this principle of the natural law is widely violated in the United States by the denial to Negroes, and to other minority groups, of equality of opportunity for decent and improved housing in accord with their economic and cultural development and freedom of choice.

Traditionally segregated housing patterns, overcrowding due to migration and population growth, the deterioration into slums of whole vast sections of our cities and the exploitation of the already desperate housing conditions of minority families are a persisting national scandal. Confusion, apathy, and racial panic intermittently characterize the attitude of the general public toward these problems and the inadequacies and errors of groups of mortgage lenders, builders, planners, and real estate operators aggravate the basic injustices in the housing market.

4. The testimony of the experts in the field of housing who have been brought together at this first national conference of Catholic Interracial Councils reveals that there is no simple remedy for this widespread moral evil, because many factors have intermingled to create it. However, these experts, together with your Commission on housing, offer the following program as one to which all Catholic Interracial Councils, and all groups and individuals concerned about the evil of discrimination in housing, must address themselves.

Program

1. *Combatting individual racial prejudice.* Individual personal prejudice against Negroes (or any other minority group), which results in fear, hatred, mistrust, panic-flight from neighborhoods, lies deep at the root of housing discrimination.

This personal prejudice must be combatted by:

a. prayer;

b. the reaffirmation over and over again of the inherent dignity of every human being created by God, redeemed by Christ, destined for heaven;

c. community leadership and organized action to drive out of people's minds the false and slanderous opinions they may have of minority groups in general;

d. the dedicated work of all citizens and such organizations as the Catholic Interracial Councils, based on the proven fact that prejudice dissolves only when members of different races come to know one another, and to work together for common social and civic goals.

2. *The task of legislators.* Wh

vil and punitive laws do not of emselves destroy racial prejudice, ey are a powerful educational rce, a strong support to those who lieve in interracial justice but are o timid to act on their convic- ons, and a constant prod to the nscience of a community. In some ses they are necessary to enforce e natural law.

Therefore, legislators on the city, ate, and national levels are bound conscience to propose, promote, nd support laws designed to pre- nt or to do away with practices hat lead to unjust racial (or mi- ority) discrimination in housing. areful consideration should be iven to specific laws proposed to rrect or improve local situations efore these are endorsed as con- rming to valid social and moral orms.

City, state, and federal officials ust be constantly prodded and en- uraged to make long range plans, n such areas as urban re-develop- ent, city-planning, highway con- truction, etc., that will adequately eet the needs of all the citizens nvolved, in accord with sound so- ial and moral policy, and be sensi- ive to the needs of individuals, amilies and the community as a vhole.

For low-income groups, especially arge family groups, which form a arge percentage of the population f any city, who have no access to ecent housing in open markets, ublic authorities have an obligation o provide housing within their neans, and credit proportionate to heir ability to meet payments, if uch are not available in the private narket. This, testimony reveals, is duty of public authority that has een grossly neglected.

3. *The duty of real estate sellers nd brokers.* Real estate dealers and rokers have an obligation in con- cience to adhere to ethical princi- les and to demand that these be fol- owed by those who have any part n their business. The creation of ghettos, while due to many factors, nany be attributed in some measure o unethical real estate operators nd mortgage brokers, who capital- ze on the housing needs of under- rivileged people by buying or leas- ng run-down properties cheaply, nd re-selling or re-leasing them at xorbitant profits. Such operators have also deliberately fostered panic-flight from neighborhoods for the sake of profits. Many conscientious realtors are vigorously opposing such practices, but cannot drive them out of the field alone. Public opinion must be aroused against housing profiteers, and appropriate laws passed and enforced that will stop their immoral practices.

4. *The use of all media of communication.* The means of public communication can play a tremendous role in destroying the moral evil of discrimination in housing. Some owners and managers of TV and radio stations, papers, and magazines, have done an excellent job in this regard. But much more needs to be done to alert the public to the evils outlined here. Moreover, both financial and moral support should be given to organizations that produce television programs, radio scripts, newspaper and magazine publicity designed to awaken the public to the evil that festers in their midst. All interested in interracial justice should be made aware of the organizations and resources available for work in this field.

5. *The need for civic responsibility.* In times of public disorder, tension, and disunity, resulting from racial change in housing, all citizens should be instant in their efforts to support law and order, prevent violence and restore the safety and stability of community life.

Private persons, groups, and institutions are obliged to carry out clear and energetic programs of general education and leadership training to prepare our communities, urban as well as suburban, for the peaceful acceptance of desegregation in the housing market.

Catholics must collaborate whenever possible with citizens of other religions and with all men of good will, as our Holy Father Pope Pius XII has urged, in vigorous, specific, and constructive community action to remove the barriers of racial injustice from the path of those who seek the basic human necessity of decent homes.

No one course of action in any of these specific areas will be sufficient to provide a solution to the problems stemming from housing segregation. The solution is to be sought in a variety of measures. The problem of securing justice for minority groups in housing is closely related to all other areas of interracial concern such as education, employment, and family life. Housing opportunities for minority groups are part of the total pattern of America's over-all housing problems. Only careful and unremitting efforts consistent with Christian morality and democratic practice will provide a solution.

COMMISSION ON INSTITUTIONS

The Role of the Clergy

Father Archibald V. McLees, pastor of Holy Rosary Church, Brooklyn, New York, suggested a program for pastors and curates working for interracial justice.

1. In the first place, it is up to the priests of the parish to give leadership to their parishioners in this matter both by word and by example.

2. Sermons and talks should be employed in all-white parishes to prepare the people to meet a possible change in the racial character of their neighborhood in a truly Catholic fashion. In this matter the Catholic Interracial Councils can be of great service.

3. Where such change has begun, the same policy should be followed, with the additional technique of encouraging block meetings. A priest should attend these meetings if possible, but at least he should ask a Catholic on the block to assume leadership by having the meeting in his house. This Catholic should be one who thinks straight on the interracial question and will be firm but tactful in his attitude. This will perhaps require one or more sessions at the rectory to thrash out the possible difficulties.

4. Pastors should see to it that, wherever possible, a supply of

pamphlets or other reading matter on this point is available to parishioners.

5. Priests should see to it that new colored parishioners are made to feel welcome in the various Church societies, and that they are not left by their fellow members in segregated loneliness.

6. Priests should openly encourage civic movements which promote interracial justice, and if possible take an active part in these movements.

7. The Catholic doctrine on interracial justice should not only be explained to adults at meetings or study clubs, but should be taught at high school confraternity classes and to pupils in the grade school.

Catholic Hospitals

A Maryknoll nun, Sister Mary Mercy, reported on the integration of Queen of the World Hospital, Kansas City, Missouri.

The statistical report from *Negroes in Medicine* (1956), which states the number of Negro physicians affiliated with predominantly white hospitals in our large cities, awakens us to the realization that Catholic Hospitals must accept the challenge to do something about making hospital facilities and staff privileges available to well-qualified Negro physicians:

Boston					
4	out of	19	Negro	M.Ds	21.1%
Detroit					
25	" "	160	"	"	15.6
St. Louis					
9	" "	85	"	"	10.6
Chicago					
16	" "	226	"	"	7.1
Kansas City					
2	" "	37	"	"	5.4
Washington					
8	" "	224	"	"	3.6

How can a medical staff and the personnel of a Catholic hospital help to change this picture? A Catholic hospital can by the example of the practical working out of a program of complete integration of staff, personnel, and patients, spearhead the way for integration in the other hospitals of the community. We are confident that Queen of the World Hospital in Kansas City is doing this.

The project began in 1947 with the residency training at General Hospital #2, in Kansas City, Missouri, of seven intelligent, conscientious Negro physicians, who had just completed their military service. They wanted to be as well prepared for their professional work as were their white confreres. The leading white physicians and surgeons who guided their training were tireless in giving them every opportunity. In 1951, these Negro M.D.s had passed their specialty boards, or were qualified to take them, but there was no hospital, excepting an all-Negro hospital of low standards ready to accept them. The late Archbishop E. V. O'Hara, aware of the outstanding professional and ethical qualities of these men, decided that something would have to be done to provide hospital facilities for them, and offered St. Vincent's Hospital as an integrated hospital — an unheard of thing in Kansas City.

Out of his decision, with the aid of funds raised in the community, a 96-bed general hospital was set up, as Queen of the World Hospital, administered by the Maryknoll Sisters. It opened its doors in May, 1955. Leading men from the staffs of other hospitals in the city joined with the Negro physicians and the men who had so generously and selflessly trained them in organizing a model medical staff with the highest possible standards. Meetings were held regularly for months before the hospital opened. The active staff was made up of eighteen white physicians and seventeen Negro. From the very beginning there was a fine spirit of cooperation, understanding, and an eagerness to help in every way to establish a high standard of performance. The Catholic Hospital Code was accepted and understood by all, though only two out of thirty-three Negro M.Ds were Catholic. The hospital was fortunate in having two Sister-doctors among its Sister personnel. These Sisters, understanding the Negro doctors and having their complete confidence, were able to direct the policies of the hospital with authority.

Little by little everyone felt at home on the staff. The ability and skill of the Negro physicians were recognized, and they began to realize that they were enjoying prestige in medical circles. One was recommended by his white associates for membership in the American College of Surgeons. Another received a high appointment to an obstetrical society; several were appointed to positions of importance in the County Medical Society, and the Area Hospital Association. One by one the other city hospitals began to admit the Negro doctors. The Jewish hospital has admitted two surgeons, two obstetricians and a pediatrician. One Negro surgeon has been admitted to the active staff of a large Catholic hospital. All of these appointments were made on the recommendation of their white associates.

Negro physicians do not expect hospitals to accept to their staff men who are not qualified, but yearly, there are more and more Negro physicians, well trained, who are denied staff privileges. Catholic hospitals could help to solve this problem by accepting more Negroes as interns and residents, and from those who in this way, have become part of the hospital family, build up an integrated staff.

Parish Organizations

Mr. Lawrence W. Pierce, President of the Catholic Interracial Council, Brooklyn, discussed the role of parochial organizations in developing a social conscience on racial matters.

What can CIC groups, along with other societies, do in parishes to further a consciousness of the doctrine of the Church with regard to race matters?

Lay Catholics don't want other lay Catholics to define their moral obligations for them. Quite properly this privilege is reserved to the clergy. Consequently, the greatest assistance which we could receive in our efforts to achieve interracial justice would be for members of the clergy to define from the pulpit in specific terms what Catholicism requires of each of us in our dealings with one another. In other words, to explain and teach in the precise language of our faith the moral implications of indulging in the luxury of prejudice and discrimination.

Very often, parish priests, though good will themselves, are uninrmed as to the nature of the probns resulting from prejudice and scrimination and often they may t be completely familiar with the rious moral implications of these oblems. The Catholic Interracial ouncils and other similar organitions can be most helpful in makg available to these priests literare and other materials which spell t the position of the Church on ese matters as defined by members the hierarchy and the clergy. Of eat value in this respect would be ather John LaFarge's "Compilaon of Sermons on Interracial Jusce" published this year in New ork.

Our groups can be most helpful the local pastor in making availle to him informed and trained eakers who are prepared to disss the problems that exist between e races in the light of Catholic aching.

In addition to local pastors, every oly Name Society, Rosary Society, odality, Confraternity Group, Newan Club, and other parish organiation or diocesan organization ould be apprised of the availabily of speakers to discuss the Cathic viewpoint on race relations.

A speakers bureau need only const of four or five able speakers. he Brooklyn Catholic Interracial ouncil during the past two years et over one hundred speaking enagements and other appearances nd carried the message of interacial justice to over 10,000 persons ith only five active speakers.

Our councils and organizations an inquire of pastors in the various arishes whether or not church amphlet racks contain literature ealing with race relations and we an provide lists of carefully sected pamphlets and the name of he publisher.

Collaboration and cooperation with outh groups is certainly to be enouraged. Organizations such as the oung Christian Workers, Young atholic Friends, Cana Conferences, nd Newman Clubs in their zeal to econstruct the social order are uite often desirous of contributing ome effort toward improved race elations. They should be invited to ttend CIC affairs to distribute literature, to invite speakers to their meetings.

Young seminarians are often hungry for the information which our speakers are able to bring to them about the interracial apostolate.

Finally, the cooperation of the diocesan newspaper must be sought and a close liaison between our group and the editor must be nurtured and developed. This will enable us to get adequate coverage of events which we sponsor and will very likely enable us to get some favorable editorial support for issues involving interracial justice that arise.

The importance of our work on the parish level is best emphasized by the conclusion of Father LaFarge in his book, *The Catholic Viewpoint on Race Relations*, that "To be captured are not the bishops and chanceries, it is the mass of Catholic people."

Resolutions

Parishes

1. Every parish in this country is confronted with a problem and a challenge by the existence of racial prejudice and discrimination. As yet, neither the problem nor the opportunity has been adequately recognized.

2. The problem is universal and urgent because:

a. Every Catholic who is prejudiced or who discriminates against Negroes or members of other minorities thereby offends against the natural law and the Christian law of love. This sin hinders his own spiritual growth, lessens his chance of salvation, and contributes to the perpetuation of a practical heresy.

b. Racial prejudice and discrimination help to inflict severe and unnecessary suffering upon all Negroes. Further and more important, they constitute a severe trial of faith for Negro Catholics and place an obstacle against the sharing of God's truth and grace with non-Catholic Negroes.

3. The problem centers in the parish because:

a. The parish is a Catholic's spiritual home, the natural means through which he learns and lives his faith. If he does not acquire and practice the principles of interracial justice and charity in the parish, he will ordinarily not acquire or practice them at all.

b. The role of the parish is therefore central in determining the Catholic contribution in other aspects of the "race question," such as housing and employment.

c. Hence, the race question is a pastoral problem in every kind of parish, the all-white, the racially mixed, and the all-Negro. The serious obligation of forming a right conscience in Catholics on the race question, and of acquainting Catholics with the facts of the race problem, focuses here — in the parish.

4. Specific reference must be made to the "changing neighborhood." Negroes will continue to move into previously all-white residential areas; over the long term, almost every urban parish will be affected. As past and present experience shows, the pastoral significance of this phenomenon cannot be overestimated.

a. If the facts are not understood, and if no preparation is made, some or all of the following negative results will ensue:

1) A marked lowering of the spiritual tone and vitality of the parish.

2) An exacerbation of existing racial animosities.

3) A falling off in membership, school enrollment, and revenue, resulting in some cases in the destruction of the parish as an entity. This last result represents a needless and yet fantastic waste of material resources, with consequent results in the spiritual order. Moreover, the phenomenon of "white flight" will present one more scandal to the eyes of non-Catholic Negroes.

b. If, on the other hand, the facts are perceived and if adequate preparations are made, the following may be hoped for:

1) A growth of charity among all Catholics.

2) A significant contribution to the establishment of social justice for Negroes.

3) The conversion of some Negroes and the lessening of misconceptions about the Church among others.

4) An increased hope for preservation of the neighborhood from entering into the ghetto pattern, and an increased possibility of preserving the parish in effective existence.

On the basis of these findings, the commission presents the following recommendations, of which the first group applies to all parishes without exception:

First of all, Catholics concerned to establish interracial justice and charity will recognize that racism is not an isolated evil. They will, therefore, join in programs aimed at remedying even more fundamental social errors. In the parish, specifically, they will emphasize the following:

1. The effort of the liturgical movement to make the parish a worshipping community, through which all Catholics cannot only learn about but experience their oneness with all others in the human family and in the Mystical Body of Christ. We urge greater corporate participation in the liturgy.

2. The program to make every parish an "open" parish, an apostolic parish, devoted to the common temporal and spiritual good of all persons within its boundaries.

3. Every measure designed to make the parish an effective, functioning community, to combat the unfortunate tendency to regard the parish as no more than a sacramental filling station.

The following are recommended ways of dealing directly with racism through the parish:

1. Every parish should provide instruction in the principles of interracial justice — from the pulpit, by talks and programs before parish societies, by instruction in the parish school, and through pamphlets and similar materials. Such instruction should by no means be regarded as an extraordinary measure, but as a matter-of-fact fulfillment of the pastor's obligation to instruct all Catholics in their moral obligations.

2. In addition, the parish should undertake to acquaint Catholics with the social and economic facts of life about the racial problem in the immediate community, the nation, and the world. In addition to the means already mentioned, the parish can accomplish this by arranging special programs, by encouraging participation in the work of Catholic Interracial Councils, and by making use of resource persons and materials supplied by public and private agencies concerned with the problem.

The following additional measures are recommended for use in the all-white parish:

1. Arrangements should be made to give key parishioners the experience of personal acquaintance with Negroes and cooperation with them in programs of community concern. Contacts through social and athletic events are helpful but insufficient. Other possibilities are:

a. Lectures by qualified Negroes, either on minority problems or on other subjects.

b. Visits to the homes of Negroes, carefully planned to accomplish the result desired and inter-parish visiting by parish societies.

c. Measures to enroll Negroes in all-white central Catholic high schools.

The following special measures should be adopted in the integrated parish and in the "changing neighborhood":

1. Block meetings designed to acquaint white parishioners with the facts about ghetto conditions, the policies of real estate agents, and to underline the possibility and desirability of stabilizing neighborhoods.

2. Use of and cooperation with other agencies working toward the same end.

3. Every measure that will convey a welcome to incoming Negroes, Catholic and non-Catholic, to make use of parish facilities and to enter into the life of the parish. Specifically, parish societies must be instructed in parish policy and challenged to demonstrate in their practice the doctrine of the Church on the Mystical Body.

4. Invitations should be extended to non-white priests to visit the parish and exercise their sacerdotal function there.

The following steps should be taken in the all-Negro parish:

1. Regular instruction in the application of Catholic principles to the special problems of the American Negro, with equal unvarying emphasis on justice *and* charity.

2. Encouragement of Negro Catholic lay leaders to prepare for and participate in interracial work, and particularly in the work of Catholic Interracial Councils.

Catholic Hospitals

In this section of its report, the Commission necessarily conceives of itself as a channel for the transmission of the findings and recommendations made by its expert consultants.

1. At the outset we wish to express our gratitude to Sister Mary Mercy of the Maryknoll Sisters for her report on the example set to the entire nation by the successful and complete integration of Queen of the World Hospital in Kansas City, Missouri. Under the inspiration of the late Archbishop Edwin V. O'Hara and the direction of Sister Mary Mercy, this hospital has shown that white and Negro doctors and nurses can work in close cooperation to maintain the highest medical standards for the service of all patients on a basis of total integration. This successful experiment has shown also the apostolic effectiveness of such complete fidelity to the spirit of Christ the Healer. We commend the example of Queen of the World Hospital to the attention of all persons concerned with hospital practices and policies.

2. We wish also to thank Dr. Dietrich O. Reitzes, sociologist, George Williams College, for his report on a study of medical care for and by Negroes in 14 communities. We were gratified to learn from this report that the Catholic Church in some of these communities has taken a leading position in the movement toward integration of hospital facilities and medical staff privileges.

3. On the basis of these and other reports, we submit the following additional findings and recommendations:

a. In working toward integration of Catholic hospitals, the most important single step is to acquire the backing specifically of the local Ordinary and other religious leaders.

b. Within the hospital, the ultimate decision for or against integration rests with the governing board, which in Catholic hospitals ordinarily means the members of the religious community which conducts the hospital. There are examples of successful integration ca

ed out by decision of the religious ommunity over the opposition of ne medical staff.

c. On the other hand, support for ntegration within the medical staff highly recommended. Persons orking toward integration of hos- ital facilities should keep in mind ne obligation of hospital personnel o maintain good working relation- hips among all departments, since uch relationships are as necessary rerequisite to the maintenance of nedical standards.

4. Despite the advances reported, ve must also report that our con- ultants have provided more-than- ufficient evidence to indicate that nany Catholic hospitals now prac- ice policies of racial exclusion or egregation, a condition which we an only describe as scandalous.

5. We respectfully suggest to nembers and officers of the Catho- ic Hospital Association the desira- ility of a study of racial policies in Catholic hospitals, the results of which could be employed in the framing of a general policy for the guidance of all Catholic hospital ad- ministrators. Likewise a survey conducted by a local Catholic Inter- racial Council, or other interested organizations, placed in the hands of the local religious superior can be fruitful.

National Catholic Organizations

The commission heard reports from officers or representatives of the following organizations: National Councils of Catholic Men and Women, the Knights of St. Peter Claver, the Catholic War Veterans, and the Association of American Indians. We congratulate these groups for their awareness of the interracial problem.

On the basis of their reports and our own deliberations, we find:

1. That the practice of racial exclusions or racial segregation by organizations with the word "Catholic" in their names, or which are known as Catholic and so identified in their constitutions and public announcements, constitutes an inner contradiction, the existence of which cannot be tolerated.

2. That despite their diversity of structure, purpose, and function, national Catholic organizations can all contribute significantly to the cause of interracial justice, and that the following are among the means available:

a. Action from the national level to encourage the adoption by all units of genuinely Catholic policies with regard to eligibility for membership and election to office.

b. Use of publications of the organization to further education of members and their families in principles of interracial justice.

c. Programming service and guidance by national offices to help local units in preparation of programs dealing with the race problem.

d. Strict adherence to correct principles in regard to staff membership, choice of convention sites, and other policies.

e. Presentation and passage of resolutions dealing with the race question at national, diocesan, and local gatherings.

f. Service to foreign visitors.

g. Concrete suggestions to local units for action toward interracial justice.

h. The conscious use of Negro members in every level of participation in conventions.

3. Finally, we wish to commend Mrs. Angela Little Beaver, representative of the Winnebago Tribal Council and the Association of American Indian Affairs, for her effective presentation of the problems of American Indians. We wish to urge members of the conference to increase their awareness of these problems. And, in closing, we will share with you a story given us by Mrs. Little Beaver. Until recently, she told us, the parish structure in her home parish reflected the existence of racial consciousness and racial discrimination. For example, there was one organization for Indian women known as St. Mary's Society. Another organization for "non-Indian" women was known as the Altar Society. Only two months ago, Mrs. Little Beaver told us, these two organizations were merged. And the new society is known, of course, as "St. Mary's Altar Society."

COMMISSION ON EMPLOYMENT

Merit Employment

Willard Johnson, Vice President of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, offered some projections into the future in the field of merit employment.

I suspect we shall have relatively less discrimination in the unskilled and semi-skilled jobs, but relatively more discrimination in skilled jobs and in up-grading, as well as in white collar jobs.

I think we can expect this pattern to continue as white parents encourage their children to enter the professions and white collar work and as Negroes move up the ladder into these fields. Furthermore, as automation requires more skills, with a drop-off of manual labor jobs, and as Negroes are trained to fill these skilled jobs, the conflicts may grow rapidly and the actual discrimination will move up into the skill categories.

As the four-day week comes, then gives way to the three-day week, those groups which now are victims of discrimination, will move generally and rapidly up the scale of living standards. More and more of them will be distribution and service personnel, rather than factory workers. This will tend to eliminate prejudice, although it will change the picture of discrimination in employment — moving it into the fields of distribution and services. But perhaps people engaged in selling, servicing, insuring, repairing, rendering personal services, will be better able to deal with prejudice and discrimination, since competence will be proved here rather quickly.

United Steel Workers of America

Francis C. Shane, Executive Secretary of the Committee on Civil Rights, United Steel Workers of America, reported on work of his union in the field of fair employment practices.

In 1948, when our committee was established, we recognized the need

for a broad program which would co-ordinate the resources and influence not only of organized labor but also of industry, education, government, religion, and civic and community organizations in support of fair employment practices. Our first organized effort was a series of four FEP conferences. Over two thousand local union officers and committeemen joined with top officers of the union and leaders from industry to plan a program of action.

In a realistic manner we then conducted a survey to measure the scope of discrimination and treatment of minority groups within the steel industry, concentrating on the specific areas or range of jobs open to minority groups and the types of racial discrimination issues which confronted local unions. The fact that many jobs now open in steel mills which were formerly closed to non-whites can be attributed to the strong position taken by the union and the subsequent work which was done by the civil rights committee following the survey.

With each succeeding year the influence of organized labor became more pronounced, and it is not by accident that the great majority of municipalities and states which have adopted fair employment practices legislation are heavily industrialized and strongly unionized. This process has also been reflected in the gains which have been made in other fields of civil rights.

But even though over 70 million people now come within the scope of some type of fair employment practices legislation, there is still a tremendous job to be done. While there are some instances where perceptive leaders of business and industry have realized that equal opportunity is a basic right of the individual, there is still too little evidence of any great amount of support for it among employers as a whole. In fact, opposition which comes from the NAM, the Chamber of Commerce, and other management organizations pretty much represents a general lack of social conscience by that segment of our society.

Public Philosophy

Charles Wexler, a Detroit attorney, discussed fair employment practices legislation in terms of Catholic political philosophy. Some excerpts follow:

America and indeed the world stand in great need of a political philosophy. We in these days are witnessing the most significant and the gravest crisis which this nation has suffered since the Civil War. We read daily accounts of the struggle to avoid compliance with the decisions of the United States Supreme Court. The problem of integrating the schools of Little Rock is far greater than overcoming the obstruction of the Governor of Arkansas and the numbers of people whom he has incited to his cause. The heart of the Little Rock problem lies not in Little Rock or in Arkansas.

The crux of the problem lies in the hearts of millions of our citizens and much of our political leadership. The plain honest fact is that most of our people have no frame of reference which gives them enough confidence to take a strong position on racial integration in public schools.

This results partly in the unconscious adoption of pragmatism as an individual philosophy by many and the failure of our institutions to develop a moral conscience as a guide to national policy. It is yet possible that Little Rock may become as symptomatic of our inability to cope with grave moral problems in this country as the Dred Scott decision was in the past.

According to Catholic doctrine, the State exists ultimately for the individual, and the individual is endowed with certain natural rights which belong to him because of his nature. The State does not confer these rights; it cannot take them away. With respect to these rights, all men are equal, because they are all equal in the rational nature from which such rights are derived.

Man's natural rights have been summarized thusly: life, liberty, marriage, and property. Liberty embodies a wide conception extending to physical movement, education, religion, speech, and writing. The right of property, of course, extends not only to the right to own property but also to the right to acquire property.

It appears that the State has a duty not merely to protect the natural rights of men but also to promote them. Our nation is one in which opportunities have been denied or severely restricted for certain minority groups solely because of their race or religion. It appears that such discrimination severely limits the opportunities for the full utilization of the talents and skills which members of these groups have acquired or possess.

Although I know of no studies on this point, it appears that much evidence could be adduced to show that the pattern of discrimination as it does exist in this country has done untold damage to the souls of those who made the unjust policies, as well as the families which have been the unfortunate victims.

Job Discrimination

The Bureau on Jewish Employment Problems recently published the results of two years of research on the extent and character of white collar job discrimination in Chicago. Significant findings are summarized below:

Of 1,285 companies that were studied:

41 per cent placed one or more job orders specifying religious preferences.

13 per cent specified persons of any religious faith may be recruited.

45 per cent placed job orders which were evasive or non-committal as to religious preferences.

100 per cent barred referral of non-whites.

Conferences with 139 firms showed they had discriminatory employment practices:

17 firms employed Jews in executive positions. 8 of these firms were owned by Jews.

No non-whites were found in executive positions.

9 firms employed non-whites in office jobs.

The following industries were found to be among the most discriminatory: Banks and financial institutions, electronic and electrical manufacturing companies, advertising agencies, insurance companies, trade associations, etc.

Other findings:

1,500 companies, employing several million persons in Chicago and

sewhere, had discriminatory job ractices.

26 per cent of 575 firms in urgent eed of personnel placed discrimina- ory job orders.

29 out of 47 Chicago-based firms – listed among the 500 largest in- ustrial companies in America — ere reported by employment agen- ies to be discriminatory.

Resolutions

The denial to any human being of he needs of his normal existence is mockery to God's creation of the neans for human existence.

Such a denial essentially repudi- tes the dignity of each person, and, vhen perpetrated by one human be- ng against another, d e n i e s the rotherhood of man under the Fa- herhood of God.

When the excuse for such denial is he person's race, color, religion, or ational origin, the injustice is evil ompounded.

Foremost among the n e e d s of ormal existence is job opportunity, rom which stems the means of ob- aining other essential needs.

Equality of job opportunities is a moral right which inheres in all men, created as they are in the mage and likeness of God and en- lowed by Him with talents of mind and body.

It is the sacred duty of every person to seek to fulfill these gifts and to use them, not only in making a living, but for the benefit of all mankind and for the greater honor and glory of God.

The denial of this right through refusal to hire, to upgrade, or to promote, to admit into union mem- bership or to professional associa- tions because of a person's race, religion, color, or national origin breaches not only the principle of justice but that of charity or love which binds together in Christ all mankind.

The translation of this principle into practice has been the concern of Government at the federal, state, and local levels. At the federal level, f a i r employment practices have been the subject of successive Executive Orders from 1941 to the present time.

In 14 states and approximately 40 cities this right has been re-affirmed in law through the enactment of fair employment practice statutes and city ordinances. Over two thirds of the working population of U.S. is covered by regulatory measures which, in their operation, combine the methods of education, confer- ence, consultation, and persuasion, with sanctions as needed.

The majority of the consultants, testifying before the Commission on Employment noted the failure of the voluntary method to *ensure merit employment* in many areas of econ- omy. They recommended that law therefore was a necessary adjunct to informal processes of education in preventing and eliminating the continued evils of job-bias.

It was noted also that the enact- ment of such laws is not enough. Community organizations must con- tinue to work toward the elimina- tion of discrimination through every available method used in the past as well as complete utilization of the machinery established by govern- ment.

Testimony also disclosed that em- ployment discrimination as such is not the only cause of economic de- privation among minority groups. Contributing factors such as inade- quate training and inadequate hous- ing, as well as a history of segre- gation and discrimination, have led to apathy on the part of some minority youths to train and apply for currently expanding job oppor- tunities.

It was the conviction of the con- sultants that these are interrelated areas of concern for all who wish to solve the problem of job dis- crimination.

Job opportunities are expanding steadily. They seem to be confined to entrance level jobs — clerks, typ- ists, production workers, sales per- sonnel — and in the scarcity areas, s u c h as engineers and technical workers in industries doing pre- cision work.

However, there is still a notable absence of certain minority groups, for example, Negroes in the fore- man, supervisory, or middle-manage- ment positions.

Another critical area which will require more careful treatment by management, labor, and government at all levels is the apprenticeship system.

Ways and means must be de- veloped through which qualified and interested youngsters of all groups will be acquainted with training or apprenticeship opportunities and ac- tually recruited for these programs.

The dearth of minority group ap- prentices requires not only the at- tention of management, labor, and the appropriate government agen- cies, but also more vigorous work on the part of community organi- zations in ascertaining the practical methods of apprentice recruitment.

If this challenge is to be met, these organizations must encourage minority group p a r t i c i p a t i o n through informing potential ap- prentices of opportunities and ways through which interested individu- als can enter these programs.

It was the overwhelming view of those testifying before the Commis- sion that Catholic Interracial Coun- cils had a definite role in educating employers, labor organizations, and members of minority groups to meet their respective responsibilities in relationship to merit employment.

Testimony indicated that proce- dures and techniques adopted by cer- tain segments of management and labor promoted merit employment.

It was urged that management adopt and put into operation merit employment standards along the following lines:

► Enunciate forcefully and explicitly merit employment policies by top management.

► Communicate these policies to all levels of supervision, to all em- ployees and to p r o s p e c t i v e em- ployees.

► Relate these policies to all sources of recruitment: employment agen- cies, c o l l e g e s, universities, high schools, minority groups, and other community organizations.

► Restate and review these policies periodically to see that they are be- ing carried out. Acquire written, statistical, visual, and other appro- priate reports.

Labor organizations were a l s o called upon to set similar standards in respect to admission to union membership and full participation in the designing and administering of union policies and programs, with- out regard to race, religion, or na- tional origin.

They were urged to implement these standards in the following fashion:

► Adopt as a policy non-discriminatory admission and membership requirements.

► Communicate this policy to all subordinate groups and to all officers and staff personnel.

► Disseminate information regarding this policy to minority groups, community relations groups, schools, colleges, recruitment sources, and to other segments of the general public.

► Restate this policy periodically and review it at every structural level.

Members of minority groups were urged to recognize that it is imperative that they be encouraged to set their goals on the basis of their aptitudes and interests, despite the tradition and recurring instances of discrimination both in training and employment.

The following suggestions were made:

► The individual should train to his highest potential.

► The individual should apply for and persevere in his efforts to obtain a job commensurate with his ability.

► Where discrimination is encountered, the individual or groups of individuals should fully utilize the existing machinery of government to rectify such injustices.

The commission was reminded repeatedly by the consultants that vocational guidance programs need strengthening.

It was suggested that counselors should seek and use in their programs information about:

► the broadening opportunities for minority groups,

► automation and population movements affecting our economy,

► the problems still facing minority groups,

► the resources available, including laws, to meet these problems.

It was also urged that vocational counselors review their roles, not only in guidance, but in respect to the referral and placement of the youth of all groups.

Community organizations, private and public, have a particular responsibility to study the employment situation in its total social context, to initiate and develop programs assuring equality at all employment levels.

Capitalizing on their unique place and influence in social life, these organizations must complement the efforts of management, labor, government, and minority group organizations to effect social change consistent with human dignity.

The following steps were stressed:

► Community organizations must seek to arouse and foster an informed interest in the problem among their members.

► Through their members, they must offer leadership and guidance to the wider community.

► These groups must seek widest community support of laws and programs furthering these ends.

COMMISSION ON EDUCATION

School Desegregation

Extracts of a statement of J. Francis Pohlhaus, Counsel for the Washington Bureau of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, on the desegregation of schools in Washington, D.C.

Shortly after the Supreme Court's decision in the school segregation cases of May 17, 1954, President Eisenhower expressed the hope that the public schools of the District of Columbia would prove a model to the rest of the nation in complying with the decision.

Without passing judgment on whether the President's hope was fully realized, one can certainly say that a drastic, dramatic change took place in a short period of time in the public schools of the District.

This change was so complete that the D. C. Board of Education was in a position to claim that the necessity of implementing the Court's decision by further orders was moot as to the District.

Although the litigants in the case were not in complete agreement with this statement of accomplishment by the Board of Education, it is to the credit of the school authorities that no additional litigation has been necessary. As of now, integration is an accomplished fact in the schools from the first grade through the Teachers College, in teaching positions, and in the administration of the school system.

Without waiting for the additional Court hearings on the implementation of the Court's decision, the Board of Education adopted a plan of desegregation to go into effect with the opening of school in September of 1954.

The basic principle of this plan was that school districts would be re-zoned along geographical lines with children attending the school of their district without regard to race.

By the opening of the school year of 1955, 80 per cent of the District's schools had racially integrated classes. The continued segregation in the other 20 per cent was due to the segregated residential pattern in some sections of the District.

Many factors contributed to the successful desegregation effort in the District. In my opinion, the following were the most important:

► The desegregation plan was a total one.

► The plan was put into effect immediately. Again, this lessened the chances of the opposition to be effective, as it gave no opportunity for organized opposition to develop.

► The Court's decision was given official support. School and law enforcement officials made known their support of the Supreme Court's decision.

► Events preceding the Court's decision created a climate of opinion that made for acceptance of the decision by the general public.

Among these events were the complete desegregation of facilities in Governmental buildings, open occupancy in public housing projects, the opening of restaurants to all under court order, and the elimination of segregation in all recreational facilities under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior.

Resolutions

Findings

1. There is a definite and direct link between discrimination in education and discrimination and segregation in housing. The related problems should be studied together.

2. Good will is not enough, either in the field of research or action. There is no substitute for professional competence.

3. About one third of formerly segregated school districts have thus far been desegregated.

4. There is a need for personal interracial contacts. The Councils should foster such contacts.

5. Teacher training in the Chicago public schools, in the field of human relations, is a pioneering and valuable enterprise which should be carefully studied.

6. Mobility of population and social adjustment will be, for the next ten years, major problems in the North. Desegregation will continue to be for some time the major problem in the South. Both problems should be carefully studied by Councils north and south of the Mason-Dixon Line.

7. School programs relative to the cultural level of students should be adequately adjusted so each school is serviced with the proper curriculum.

8. There is a need for sharing the knowledge from communities where desegregation has been successfully achieved to other communities moving in the direction of desegregation. Examples are St. Louis; Washington, D.C.; and Louisville, Ky. The Councils might serve as a clearing house for this information.

9. Council members should actively participate in PTA and similar civil and social organizations as appropriate fields for apostolic zeal.

Conclusion

Regional problems are so diverse in various parts of the country, that the Councils should carefully study local facts and adjust action programs to them.

Recommendations

1. Federal funds allocated to the various states for educational purposes should be used in support only of unsegregated institutions.

2. Every encouragement should be given to the establishment and development of adult education programs in the field of human relations.

3. More attention should be devoted in school systems at all levels to those doctrines which underscore the unity of the human race, with specific reference to interracial relations in daily living.

4. The Councils should take the initiative in inaugurating practical research projects, such as community self-surveys, parish studies, studies of patterns of segregation in housing, health, employment, etc. This should lead to courageous and prudent action on the part of the Councils to establish communities of interracial cooperation and justice.

5. Application for admission to schools at all levels should omit reference to all races and nationality backgrounds. References to religion should be included only insofar as they are applicable to denominational institutions.

6. The employment placement bureau and the housing placement office of colleges and universities should be operated on a non-discriminatory basis. Educational institutions should refuse to accept discriminatory job orders.

7. Too often programs bog down for lack of adequately trained personnel. Every effort should be made by the Councils to secure sufficient finances for any contemplated research action project, to guarantee whatever programs are undertaken will be carried forward in a competent manner.

8. Counselors in the field of education should be made more aware of vocational and professional employment opportunities available to all students regardless of race, creed, or nationality.

9. Educational institutions should be encouraged by the Councils in a practical manner to implement cultural contacts and exchanges between people of various races.

RESOLUTIONS: National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1. *Be it resolved that:*

As Catholics and as Americans, we acknowledge in a humble and contrite spirit our many individual and collective failures to fully implement the principles of Christian social justice and American democracy in regard to race relations.

We ask Almighty God for the special grace to enable us to give courageous witness to our Catholic faith in this vital area of the social order.

Further, we call upon our brethren in the faith, members of the universal Church, the Mystical Body of Jesus Christ, here and abroad, to join with us in prayer for our nation at this time of profound crisis over the racial issue.

In humility and hope, we beseech the prayers of the Catholics of Asia, Africa, and Latin America that the Holy Spirit may help Americans achieve unity in social life.

May the Catholics of the young nations of Africa pray for us!

May the Catholics of the historic lands of Latin America pray for us!

May the Catholics of the ancient lands of Asia pray for us!

We the children of God in the blessed land of the United States of America ask their prayers that our nation may attain interracial justice without which all of our achievements are hollow.

2. *Be it resolved that:*

This conference recognizes the struggle of all minority groups, particularly the Puerto Ricans, the American Indians, and the Latin Americans, in their quest for equality of rights and opportunity, and

Be it further resolved that:

All Councils encourage membership and participation by these minority groups and collaborate closely with other organizations primarily concerned with these problems.

3. *Be it resolved that:*

We recognize the fact that whereas it might not be possible to implement the breakdown of segregation and discriminatory practices universally overnight and that certain sections of our great country have a more difficult problem than others — there is no place where some steps in the right direction should not be taken *now*. The road to the goal of breaking down the artificial barrier of race might be a long one but no one can excuse himself from beginning the journey to walk it.

4. *Be it resolved that:*

There is need everywhere for an educational program in which each man of good will can and must take part, according to his position and ability. A friend can help educate a friend. Teachers, priests, lay leaders, and government officials have a particular duty in this regard. They must all stand on the proposition that the cause of eliminating segregation and discrimination is a just and right cause and willed by the Almighty. They cannot merely appeal for the observance of law whether it be church or constitutional or civil law.

We specifically endorse the work of the Commission on American Citizenship at the Catholic University of America in drawing up a suitable curriculum in the social studies and encouraging religiously oriented texts and courses that promote sound attitudes towards our brothers in Christ.

5. *Be it resolved that:*

We call upon all religious groups and organizations of Catholic men and women to admit within their fold all Catholics who apply for membership regardless of their race or national origin. If certain qualifications of membership are required — let them be required of all applicants without respect to color or nationality. And we urge the outlawing of the blackball system of selecting new members in all Catholic organizations.

6. *Be it resolved that:*

We recognize that the basic unit for developing the spirit consonant with our faith in the Mystical Body is the parish; and we support every effort to make the parish the spiritual home of all within its boundaries, regardless of race. Priests and people must cooperate together to put this into practice. They must realize that the members of minority groups in a parish often feel shy and unwelcomed and that they need encouragement, a friendly invitation, a sign of welcome.

7. *Be it resolved that:*

We suggest that an interim committee formed by this Conference be commissioned to draw up in capsule form an affirmation of principles and basic Christian conduct in the area of interracial relations, and that this affirmation be furnished to all Catholic Interracial Councils.

8. *Be it resolved that:*

The desegregation of the nation's schools is not merely a legal question but it is also a deep moral issue.

The clear decision of the United States Supreme Court holding segregation in the nation's schools to be unconstitutional should not be clouded by any reluctance in the executive branch or by any unwillingness in Congress to give support to the moral principles upon which the decision was based.

At this critical time in world history the people of the United States have a right to expect their chief executive to use the full moral authority of his office to secure full equality for all citizens in all parts of our nation. There is no justification for the chief executive to commit to an uncertain future the implementation of the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States or the enforcement of our federal civil rights law.

9. *Be it resolved that:*

In order for the Catholic interracial movement to more effectively and more quickly reach its avowed goals of achieving interracial justice for all men, this conference proposes a closer unity among the various councils throughout the United States.

Toward this end we accept the following recommendations:

An Interim Committee be appointed to study the possibility of some form of closer association of the various Catholic Interracial Councils.

The Interim Committee be composed of Father John LaFarge, honorary chairman; Mr. George Hunton; Mr. Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr.; Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell; Mr. Lloyd Davis; Mr. Guichard Parris of New York; Miss Dorothy Mattingly of St. Louis; Dr. John O'Connor of Washington, D.C. Mr. Edward Bradley of Indianapolis; Mrs. Mildred Mahoney of Boston; Mr. Charles Wexler of Detroit; Rev. Charles Brady of Syracuse; Mr. Dennis Clark of Philadelphia; Mr. Percy Steele, Jr., of San Diego; Mr. Frank Shane of Pittsburgh; Rev. Joseph Connolly of Baltimore; Rev. Franklyn Kennedy of Milwaukee; Rev. Elmer Powell, Bay St. Louis, Mississippi; Mr. William McCoy of Portland, Oregon; Sister Claire Marie, O.S.F., of Catholic University; Mr. Frank Nally of Toledo, Ohio. The secretary of this committee is Mr. Mathew H. Ahmann of Chicago.

If possible a staff person shall be employed by the Interim Committee to help it in its work.

The staff person is further charged with the implementation of the following two points:

A. the exchange of information between the various councils;

B. the stimulation of new CIC units and the servicing of the basic needs of these young and inexperienced councils.

A committee of the presidents, chaplains, and executive directors of all the Catholic Interracial Councils in the United States be formed, and to this committee all reports from the so-called Interim Committee will be rendered.

We accept the challenge offered by Father John LaFarge and Mr. John Yancey to go forth with energy and devotion in assisting in the creation of fifty new Catholic Interracial Councils.

We look with favor on the benefits of national conferences, and ask the Interim Committee to report to the various council presidents, chaplains, and executive directors on the likelihood and location of the second national conference sponsored by the Catholic Interracial Councils of the United States.

THE DISEASE OF RACISM

Racism cannot be cured solely by attacking some of the results it produces — like discrimination in housing, or in education. True, we need effective programs to reduce such discrimination. Action in these areas is necessary, appropriate, and justified. But we must also treat the disease of racism itself. And this means we must understand the disease. Such understanding requires prayer, study and dedicated effort. For racism is an immensely complicated phenomenon. It is an affliction of the spirit, yes, of the soul of man, rather than a disease of his conscious, intellectual life. That's one reason why racists are so irrational and illogical in their attempts to justify their prejudices.

The roots of racism lie deep in man's nature, wounded and bruised by original sin. The secret sources of racism, to quote that eminent teacher and philosopher, Yves Simon, lie deep in man's greed for a cheap labor supply. Deep in man's insecurity about his own means of livelihood, deep in man's desire for aristocratic distinction, his desire to feel that he is a member of a distinguished people, an elite better than other human beings; deep in his anxiety to be somebody, to belong to a group which does not include everyone, to be free of his fear of sinking into the great, struggling, undifferentiated mass of humanity. Even warped religious feelings can produce racism. Jews, for example, have suffered persecution from misguided Christians who tortured the Jews for their part in killing Christ. These Christians conveniently forgot, or tried to avoid, the fact that Christ died because of the sins of all men — Christian sins as well as Jewish sins — the white man's sins as well as the Negro's. No one wants to face the fact that his or her own personal sins killed Christ. It's so much easier to blame the Jews, or some long-dead Roman soldier.

History is full of pitiful examples of misguided efforts to create selected groups among the peoples of the world: the phony racial elite set up by Adolph Hitler; the discredited doctrine of Karl Marx establishing an elite of the working class; the Brahmin elite of Hinduism with its caste system; the bourgeois elite of wealth; or even the Grecian elite composed of intellectual men supposedly of great wisdom.

All of these efforts to separate men failed. All similar efforts will fail because they are based on materialistic desires for money, or security, or power, or success in this world. None of them recognizes that the only true superiority, the only genuine elite in this world, or in the next, is the elite of those men and women who have given their lives to justice and to charity. These Christian virtues unite men. Racism separates them.

—Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr.
President, Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago

ROUNDUP

THE CHURCH

Points of Information

► In Spain, the last assembly of cardinals and archbishops authorized the creation of an episcopal commission for the press and information. The president of the commission is the Archbishop of Valladolid, Garcia Goldaraz. Other officers are: Bishop Vizcarra, titular bishop of Eresco and general secretary of the Spanish Catholic Action movements; Bishop Herrera of Malaga and Bishop Cantero, coadjutor of Badajoz. The assembly also approved plans for reorganizing the directing committee of the Catholic Press.

► In England (and Wales) all priests will shortly receive a pamphlet announcing the greatest campaign ever launched in Great Britain against religious indifference. The pamphlet, entitled "Crusade for Souls," is published by the Catholic Missionary Society, which organized the campaign. The campaign will be carried out by teams of laymen under the direction of their pastors. It has three objectives: first, to persuade practicing Catholics to contact personally lapsed Catholics; secondly, to persuade the lapsed to return to their religious duties or, at least, to contact a priest; thirdly, to invite non-Catholics to attend lectures at Catholic Information Centers. The pamphlet also includes "A Letter to a Lapsed Catholic," "The Church Which Christ Founded," and "Twelve Steps to the Catholic Church."

► In Mexico, the new government's minister of education, Mr. Jaime Torres Bodet, asked several intellectual leaders for advice on his program for solving the country's school problem. Among the opinions quoted by the Mexico City daily, *Excelsior*, philosopher José Vasconcellos was quoted as saying that "it is time to end the Marxist basis of textbooks which is inspired by article 3 of the Constitution." The article in question specifies that the country "must combat fanaticism and prejudice by teaching a socialist and scientific view of the world." Bodet's program envisages first of all new buildings. Presently, of Mexico's seven million children of school age, three million receive no education. (About 40 per cent of the country is illiterate.) It is estimated that at least 50,000 more teachers and 25,000 new schools are needed. While quite illegal, there are about 2,000 Catholic schools in Mexico educating around 300,000 children, 50,000 of them in the capital city. The former president of the liberal National University, Jenaro Fernandez McGregor, was quoted as saying that "the education question is the number one problem of Mexico." What he envisages for Mexicans is "an integral education, that is to say not only scientific but also spiritual and moral. Education cannot ignore the spiritual world."

The Church in Chile

(In our last issue, Father Mark McGrath, C.S.C., outlined some contemporary problems facing the Church in Chile. In this concluding piece he discusses the Church's positive achievements. Father McGrath is on the faculty of St. George's College in Santiago.)

There are many bright lights to balance the shadows of the Catholic picture in Chile. First, the Church is still beyond doubt the greatest single social and moral force in the land. Secondly, the bulk of the clergy is very sharply aware of the various problems we have presented. They are not only open to solutions but are actively experimenting with many that have been proposed. Finally, it is true that the laity, especially the university and young professional groups, are awakening to the challenge of the time.

Father Alberto Hurtado, S.J., wrote a book in 1951 which summed up a thousand preoccupations in its title: *Is Chile a Catholic Country?* With Bishop Manuel Larrain, of Talca, he pricked and prodded the Catholic mind. His magazine, *Mensaje*, continues stirring up facts and figures which more complacent Catholics would like to forget. His ASICH, Association of Catholic Unions, placed a respectable part of the Church on the side of labor organization. His *Hogar de Cristo* (Christ's Home) for the sorry urchins who wander the streets of Santiago day and night opened the purses and hearts of thousands of Catholics and non-Catholics, to the need for charity. Bishop Larrain, national chaplain of Catholic Action, brought the YCS and YCW to Chile. He and other bishops have brought to Chile numerous religious congregations and secular institutes. The Benedictines of Solesmes, replaced in 1949 by Benedictines from Kloster Beuron, Germany, brought an awareness of liturgical beauty. In 1956 they founded, with the collaboration of pastors and educators, the Center of Pastoral Liturgy which has labored to promote and unify popular participation in the liturgy. Gelineau's psalms and other popular liturgical hymns, along with the full-dress dialogue Mass, complete with readings and processions, are gradually displacing the silence or the sugary songs which still accompany most Sunday Masses.

In 1942 there was one U.S. priest in Chile, the Jesuit, Father Weigel. Now there are close to 100: Maryknollers, Precious Blood, and Carmelites working in poor parishes. Holy Cross priests with two poor parishes and a bi-lingual private school for 1,600 boys. In 195[illegible] American Dominicans will take a parish and university center in Concepcion, and American Jesuits a school further south in Osorno. U.S. Trappists have been planning for some years to found a monastery in Chile. Five congregations of American nuns have also come to Chile since 1940. Meanwhile Spain, Holland, Ireland, Germany, France, Belgium, Canada, and Italy have sent more clergy and religious wi[illegible]

w impetus and ideas. Jesuit iests, Chilean and foreign, trained road, have set up at the Catholic niversity higher institutes of so- ology, of psychology, and of mo- n picture research and production nich have put the Church clearly ead in all three fields. The Little rothers and Sisters of Charles de oucauld are giving their startling stimony of worker sanctity in the burbs of Santiago. The secular stitutes of Opus Dei and Schoen- att have gathered hundreds of the st young men and women of San- ago under their spiritual direction. he younger secular Chilean clergy roup into teams, carried over from eir seminary experience, to dis- uss spiritual and apostolic prob- ms. The diocesan clergy, in par- cular, has developed an acute con- ern for the social problems.

Catholic Action in Chile began in ie twenties. It has gone through any reorganizations. The univer- ty groups of the thirties contrib- ted a greater emphasis upon social hristianity which soon spilled over nto politics and produced a split of any younger elements from the onservative (traditionally the Cath- lic) party. These elements, with thers, coalesced last year for the residential elections into the Chris- ian Democratic party, whose candi- ate, Eduardo Frei, drew a sizeable ote from the middle and higher lasses but was not able to make eadway among the poorer voters. The elections were a sad lesson in he social immaturity of Chile's Catholics. The Catholic backers of Alessandri and of Frei, both of whom are personally devout Catho- ics, bitterly assaulted one another vith theological venom. Frei's par- isans accused the conservative and iberal Catholics of representing verything that is malodorous about *aissez faire* capitalism. The latter ambasted the Christian Democrats as inexperienced enthusiasts who did not know what they were after and were only dividing the Catholic and helping the Communist cause. Both were partially right. Many conservative Catholics lean to Frei's deas but they refuse to accept the hesis that his party parallels that of Adenauer, de Gasperi, and the other post-war Christian Democrats of Europe. There is no doubt that a Christian Democratic position is needed in Chile. But it seems equally clear that the Chilean party of that name must mature considerably. Above all it needs better training and better organization of its leaders before it will be able to gain the confidence of the conservative classes, overcome the opposition of the selfish moneyed interests, and penetrate the Marxist curtain which shrouds the workers and the poor.

It is not unusual that Catholic movements in Latin America take to politics as the short cut to Christian social reform. Since Catholic Action in the late twenties, under the guidance of Bishop Larrain and Father Hurtado, brought the specialized movements to Chile, the sympathies of its leaders have been with Frei; but explicit political alliance has been avoided. The YCS has never caught on in a sustained manner. The YCW has developed hundreds of promising centers in Santiago and other cities. The JAC (a youth movement for farm workers) has spread more effectively across the country. All are in the early stages of their social influence. Their great need, also, is for trained leaders. The YCW and JAC have set up training schools — the Institute of Popular Education (YCW) and the Institute of Rural Education (JAC), to which young city or farm workers come for courses lasting from one to three months. Incidental expenses are shared by their employers and their parish or national Catholic Action group. The courses and lodging are subsidized by the State. The emphasis in these schools, as in others of the kind set up by different Church groups, is upon technical and religious training. Courses in Catholic social doctrine are taught.

But, as one chaplain explained, "We must pass the stage of theory. There are many who know Catholic social teaching in the abstract, but few who know Chile's social situation well enough or have sufficient technical training to know how to work this teaching into the practical order." The JAC now employs one hundred full-time organizers whose principal work is to organize the training schools, and to travel up and down the country, from farm to farm, where they are generally well received, recruiting the best candidates and visiting them after they have completed their course to keep up their interest and their organizational efforts. The Jacist schools have given the *fundo* owners more skilled workers, both men and women; and have supplied the Church with farm workers who know their Church and are anxious to share their knowledge. A multiplication of these schools could bring about a Christian revolution, and on the farms — peaceful and penetrating.

Since the time of Father Hurtado, *inquietud* (unrest) has been the watchword among the more zealous young Catholics of the higher classes. *Inquietud* has become the first of their apostolic virtues. Complacency, social insensibility, leisure living, liberalism carried from economics into piety itself, each man for himself, whether in the matter of business or eternal salvation — these are the vices which have kept the Catholic aristocracy from exercising its due Christian influence over the entire country. In every society the few will lead the many. But these few, the elite, must not only be the most capable; they must also be the most determined. Today, in Chile, the most gifted youth of the country, in terms of intelligence, culture, and social position, belong to the great families of the past, among whom, along with their immediate circle of workers and employees, one can find a large proportion of those 10 to 15 per cent of Chilean Catholics who assist at Mass every Sunday. The social preeminence they enjoy signifies privilege and responsibility. By and large they and their parents have enjoyed the privileges and overlooked the responsibilities.

But now there is *inquietud.* Translated into reality *inquietud* means a sense of the emptiness of the social round of parties and long summers at the beach and high living to no purpose. Spiritual formation is in serious demand. The young socialites are asking for more retreats than can be given them — long, exacting retreats. The chaplains of Catholic Action, social action groups, Opus Dei, Schoenstatt, etc., cannot cope with the numbers of young men and women who ask

to be directed out of mediocrity. The Latin flair for the dramatic and the intense gives to many of these groups a kind of mystique which to the colder Nordic might appear unreal. Yet excellent and persevering religious and priestly vocations from all of the groups are something quite real.

Inquietud also means, in the Catholic Action and social action groups, a biting concern about the social problem. Chaplains and students, both types in the social field, have jumped into it with both feet. For years the more pious young men and women gave their spare time to teaching catechism or visiting the poor — in Catechetical guilds and Conferences of St. Vincent de Paul. This was really very little remedy for so big a problem. In 1950 the Fathers of the Sacred Hearts (Picpus) initiated the lay missionary idea. Groups of students began to accompany priests on their week-long missions in *fundos*, small towns and worker districts. From the beginning the keynote was *convivencia* — living together. Priest and students refused the comfortable beds of the *fundo* manor and spread their blankets on the floors of the poorest dwellings. The students, with plays, catechism, house to house visiting, and sung dialogue Masses, broadened and deepened considerably the effect of the mission. The lay missionary idea caught on in many secondary schools and the universities. Since 1950 hundreds of students have gone on missions, many of them giving their entire summer vacations to the work.

The next step of the mission toward the poor was the *Obra Social* — Social Work. The *inquietud* was to maintain effective contact with the poor, especially in the *callampas*, throughout the year. No one knew just how to go about it. But on one point all agreed. The students should not go as *patrones*, that is paternalistically, with superior attitudes and sporadic hand-puts. *Convivencia* — living together, and fraternization: these were the goals. Help the poor to help themselves. Help them first of all to want to help themselves and to have some confidence about beginning to do it.

The Social Works began very simply. University students, usually in couples of boys and girls, began weekly visits to *callampa* shacks. They were friendly visits — amicably made and amicably received. From them, over the years and in various social works, particularly in the city of Santiago, various methods of collaboration with the poor have been evolved: schools, catechism classes, summer camps for the children and sometimes for entire families, self-help construction of homes, cooperatives, *juntas de vecinos* (councils of men), *centros de madres* (schools for mothers), Bible circles, month of Mary devotions, night schools — these are some of the results. Hundreds of university students have entered the social work. They were wholly untrained at the start. For the most part their chaplains, competent in spiritual matters and in general Catholic social teaching, had only the vaguest notions of where to begin in practical social action. Many students were short-lived in their enthusiasm; and they soon left the social works for their own interests.

But solid nuclei continued on. Chaplains began, at last, to call upon social workers and sociologists for more technical guidance for their groups; meanwhile they labored to give the students deeper religious and liturgical formation. Pastors who were rightfully suspicious of the ingenuous neophytes who thought they could right the social order with a few generous gestures are now beginning to be convinced by the persistence and self-sacrifice of numerous young men and women. And now, at length, the students themselves have begun to realize that "the first apostles of the workers will be the workers themselves" (Pius XI), and that all their help from the outside should be subordinated to the creation and formation of worker leaders.

For many the efforts of the social works were too superficial. Sporadic weekly contacts were not enough. In the summer of 1957 a dozen university students and two priests obtained permission to live and work with factory laborers in Valdivia. They made no attempt at a direct apostolate. They practiced *convivencia*. Also they carried out, unknown to the workers, a social inquiry for which they had been prepared by an experienced sociologist. This desire to learn the facts of the case was a heartening sign of realism in the social apostolate of the higher classes. The facts that were discovered were spectacular. One example: more *Canutos* in the Valdivia area assisted at their Sunday service than Catholics at the Mass. The sociologist drew up a long report which went through the papal nuncio to Rome. In the summer of 1958, 35 students returned for six weeks of *convivencia* and inquiry in Valdivia. At the present writing students are at it again in Valdivia (finishing up the inquiry) and in the new industrial areas of Concepcion. Next year Santiago will be the target.

For the example of the summer inquirers has pushed the social work one step further. A handful of the young professionals who had been active in social works as students have joined Father del Coro S.J., a priest-worker, in living and working in the *callampa* areas. To anyone who gasps at the measure of their sacrifice they simply point to the hundreds of communists who are doing the same thing. Other young members of the Catholic social works have built themselves small houses (shacks, in reality) among the poor where they can spend the week ends in longer conversations and meetings with the workers and their families. These are interesting beginnings in the full-time lay apostolate.

What is most significant about the new developments in the higher class youth is their anxiety for a kind of spirituality and Christian apostolate which breaks out of the old molds. More exacting interior life, social responsibility and the end of paternalism, liturgical life — these are the characteristics of the new youth. Their spirit is being carried further by the *Grupes de Nazareth* (Christian Family Movement), which has attracted hundreds of couples, principally in Santiago; and by the groups of Catholic businessmen and farm managers, most of them young, who meet to discuss practical ways and means of implementing Christian social principles.

The two chief defects of the many lay movements which have arisen in

e last decade are the absence of fective collaboration between them id, in general, the inadequacy of e training given their leaders. ollaboration is a difficult goal nong Chilean Catholics, who both Chileans and as Catholics resist roup action as though it were al-ays regimentation. Individualism nd a school system patterned on cial classes have kept parishes in ie apathetic condition described ove. They also contribute to a nd of competition between Catho-c groups — a competition for the etter young men and women, a mpetition, sometimes, for the po-ntial religious vocations, which ach chaplain wants for his diocese r congregation. The training of aders is a problem of another amp. The more spiritual groups Opus Dei, Schoenstatt) achieve olid spiritual formation; but they eglect social and apostolic tech-iques. The more social groups end to smother themselves in rojects which kill off the hours of rayer and directed study which ould go into spiritual and social rmation. Perhaps it is safe to ay that the principal need of the hurch in Chile is integrally trained nd Church-orientated lay leaders — in all classes, but principally mong the higher classes, who for any years to come hold the destiny f their country in their hands. The ecent foundation of CEIS *(Centro e Estudios e Investigaciones Soci-les)*, a kind of secretariat to unite ocial action groups and form their eaders, may do much toward an-wering this need.

We have tried, in all that we have ritten above, to hold our considera-ions to Catholicism in Chile — nique in its situation and its prob-ems. Yet we cannot do so any onger. Latin America does offer any analogous situations and any common tasks for the Church. he organization of CELAM (Con-erence of Latin-American Bishops) ill probably do more for Chile than ll of its local organizations acting lone could possibly achieve. United States Catholics can also help a reat deal. Vice-President Nixon's nhappy experiences in Peru and enezuela last year made many mericans realize that they have een taking Latin America too much for granted. Suddenly they have awakened to the great potentialities of this vast area where population increase is the most rapid in the world and where natural and human resources, if properly developed, will have an enormous influence in the world's future. Of all Americans, U.S. Catholics should be most stirred by these considerations. They are the best link which the U.S. has with the southern republics, however much our secularized embassies refuse to recognize the fact. They also must meditate deeply upon the fact that roughly 40 per cent of the Catholics in the world are in Latin America, and that this percentage is increasing every day. They have much to learn about the Church in Latin America; and much to learn from it.

RELIGIOUS UNITY

Anglicanism Today

(How does the Anglican Church conceive its mission today? What obstacles stand in the way of carrying out this mission? How vital is the Anglican Church? The following report, adapted from "Informations Catholiques Internationales," attempts to answer these questions.)

The Anglican Church calls herself *Catholic* because her theology is patristic and scriptural; because at the time of the Lutheran Reform she did not consider the Bible to be the only rule of faith, interpreted by the faithful, but as the only source of faith, interpreted by the three Symbols, the four Ecumenical Councils, and the unanimous agreement of the Fathers of the Church; because the "39 articles" which constitute her charter are, with her liturgy, conceived as an effort to conserve essential Catholic values in the face of Protestant "reforms"; because she has a hierarchical structure with bishops, priests, and deacons; because she holds that the episcopacy is of divine right; and, finally, because she calls herself universal (with, however, a national resonance). For all of these reasons the Anglican Church frequently calls herself the Catholic Church of England.

But she also calls herself *reformed*. One authority, Dr. Garbett, describes what the Reform gave the Church of England in these terms: it liberated her from the Pope; it brought spiritual liberty to the Christian; it gave her free access to the Scriptures and the study of them; finally, Anglicanism owes to the Reform her natural and simple liturgy.

One of the best Catholic experts on Anglican questions, Father Stanislas Cwiertniak, says that with the Anglicans the Reform was concerned primarily with purification and, if it went too far, the Anglicans themselves later rediscovered many rejected Catholic values and they continue to do so. In any case, neither Henry VIII nor Cranmer nor Elizabeth I (who separated the Church of England from Rome, or legalized the separation) never intended to found a new religion.

In a recent book *(The Church of England: Its Members and Its Business)* the Archdeacon of Hastings, Guy Mayfield, describes the objective and the mission of the Anglican Church in these words: "To convert the English genius to the service of God and to make saints of Englishmen." This genius is complex, he goes on, and "its predominant element has always been an intense love for liberty conceived in personal terms." This liberty must not, however, jeopardize the fundamental truths of Christianity. Anglicanism, on the contrary, is essentially conservative. "The characteristic of our Church," the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Temple, wrote in 1931, "is to offer men the heritage of the Catholic Church in all of its richness and fullness."

The Anglicans are, in effect, less preoccupied with doctrine than with morality, less with theories about faith and the Church than with maintaining truth in a system which permits the highest degree of personal liberty. Mayfield points out that it is not a question here of compromise but of "a coalition of Catholic and Protestant traditions" in that Anglicanism proclaims two

fundamental principles: it considers as "supreme the authority of the Scriptures, but at the same time insists that the individual be free to give his own response to the means of supernatural life offered by the Church."

It goes without saying that in a system founded upon a balance between traditional virtues and reforms giving place to personal liberty, some will tend to accentuate the Catholic note of their faith while others will emphasize the reform note. But both (Anglo-Catholics and Evangelicals) consider the Anglican Church to be *par excellence* "the school of saints." Mayfield notes that an Evangelical is in every way closer to an Anglo-Catholic than any non-conformist (a term used to designate Protestants in England, usually of Calvinist origin). And there is, he adds, "unity in the Anglican Church of Catholic truth and evangelical truth." In speaking of the present situation, he adds that there has rarely been so little tension between the two tendencies.

In addition to this unity of diverse tendencies in the Anglican faith, Mayfield notes another: "An obvious growth in the intensity of its spiritual life. The spiritual level of the parish and of churchgoers is much more elevated today than it was 25 years ago. And if the augmentation of the number of Easter Communions is still modest, frequent Communion is much more the case today than it was a generation ago."

Holy Communion, the name most often given to the Mass, is the central ceremony of religious life. Anglicanism recognizes the seven sacraments but relies chiefly on Baptism and Communion to gather statistics concerning its membership. Baptism records indicate the "nominal members"; Communions show the regular practitioners. But one must hasten to add that the sacraments impose no obligation to attend services. As Dr. Garbett writes: "Where the Roman Church says 'you must' the Anglican Church says 'you may' — it leaves much up to the discretion of the individual." Nevertheless the Anglican is *obliged* to communicate three times a year (once at Easter) and Confirmation is necessary, along with Baptism, in order to receive Communion.

It is estimated that the number of Anglicans today comprises 65 per cent of England. The number of baptized in 1953 was 27 million; in that same year, it is to be noted, there were only two million Easter Communions. But most authorities think that these figures are an unreliable indication of Church attendance. The situation is probably something like this:

- 27 million nominal members,
- six million more or less active members,
- two million Easter communicants.

This last figure represents a substantial increase over previous years but is still inferior to figures of 30 years ago. The war was very effective in reducing religious practice that was more of a social than a spiritual nature.

However unimpressive the Communion figures may be, they nevertheless constitute proof of something new which is one of the salient traits of the spiritual fibre of Anglicanism today. One must read Dr. Garbett to understand how the Anglican Church can speak of a "renaissance of Holy Communion." He recalls that at the time of the Reform, Masses were frequent but not Communion of the faithful. The Reformers, he says, wanted them to communicate at least three times a year. But the results were not heartening. Even in the beginning of the nineteenth century Communions were not frequent either in the cathedrals or in the parish churches. This has changed in the last 50 to 60 years. For it is seldom today that one finds an Anglican Church where Holy Communion is not celebrated each Sunday and there are many in which it is celebrated daily.

We must note, however, that there are still many Masses without Communion of the faithful. A number of theologians are worried about this separation. They are afraid that the people might get the idea that there can be real liturgy without Communion. Thus Father A. G. Herbert (a member of a religious order, the Society of the Sacred Mission), writes: "The Eucharist (the term is mostly limited to High Church usage) where the people do not communicate is a mutilated rite: however beautiful and striking the service might be, the faithful are spectators of the liturgy and not participants in any real sense of the word . . . and it will never be otherwise as long as there is no Communion." Consequently, some rather interesting attempts are being made to emphasize a Communion-centered cult.

The sacrament of Confession has likewise undergone a notable renewal.

Confessions are now heard in 50 to 60 per cent of the churches, a religious journal noted recently. Some churches even have wooden confessional boxes of the kind found in Catholic churches. Generally, however, the minister hears his penitents in private. But it is to be noted that no minister can oblige anyone to go to confession: the faithful confess only *in conscience before God.* The absolution of the minister is not necessary for the faithful to communicate — even in the state of mortal sin. It is only recommended that he go to a minister, as it is only recommended that he fast before Communion.

Parallel to this renewal of frequenting the sacraments is another important aspect of Anglican spiritual life today: namely, the renewal of monastic life. The religious communities which were suppressed at the Reformation have taken on new life in the past 50 years. The Church of England today counts nine communities and religious orders for men and 48 for women. Members of these religious communities are engaged in work similar to that of Roman Catholic orders. Anglican contemplative monasteries (whether for men or women) are strikingly like our own.

If the Church of England today is a "school of saints" (in Mayfield's words) it is also "a missionary Church for England."

The principal problem in this domain is the evangelization of the majority of the baptized who are more or less outside the Church.

Sometime before Easter, 1957, the daily newspaper *News Chronicle* published (under the title "England Pagan? Absurd!") a series of articles commenting on a survey

igious practice in England by the llup Institute. According to an-ers given on the questionnaires, per cent of the English believe God; 71 per cent believe that rist is the Son of God; and only per cent declared themselves neists — that is, one out of 17. more than 16 per cent were ag-stics. It is important to point out at of those who believe in the istence of God and the divinity Christ (the survey included Ro-an Catholics), 80 per cent thought at it was not necessary to belong a Church to be a Christian. The *ews Chronicle* commented that if ngland could not be called pagan, could hardly be called Christian.

In attempting to cope with this tuation the Church of England counters a real problem in the ortage of ministers. While the pulation of the country continues mount, there is a marked de-ease in the number of ministers d deacons. In 1901 there were ,753 clergymen for a population 30 millions; 16,000 for 41 mil-ns in 1951. There are only about ,000 Anglican ministers today.

An official report of the Commis-on of the Anglican Church pub-shed in 1954 showed that each year ere is a shortage of 600 to 700 inisters. By contrast, from 1850 1890, there was an average of 0 ordinations per year. This was dged excessive by many and one inister remarked: "This folly of rdinations must cease." In point of ct ordinations did fall off lamen-bly. In the last few years there ave been only about 400 each year. he practical effects of this decline re obvious: parishes of 10,000 to ,000 souls which could formerly unt on as many as six ministers re administered today by only one nd many smaller parishes have ne. Church officials are worried out this predicament which, oddly ough, stands in rather marked ntrast to the Catholic situation. hile there are only about 14,000 nglican ministers for 20,000 par-hes, there are some 7,000 Roman atholic priests for about 2,000 par-hes. As a result Catholics are buy-g up many of the churches being andoned by the Anglicans.

One of the relatively new phenom-na in the Anglican Church is her mission to the working classes and their unions (which have about eight million members). The Church of England was long cut off from the working class, notes Dr. Garbett. He even goes so far as to say that at the beginning of the nineteenth century "she was looked upon with hatred by the workers." In the past century her contact with the common people has been closer and more sympathetic than at any other time since the Reform.

Dr. Garbett sees three reasons for this. First of all the Anglican Church is no longer bound to a political party. A conservative government can no longer count on the support of the bishops when they are in difficulty. Secondly, the necessity for various programs of social reform has alerted the Church in an urgent manner. (The moderating influence of Archbishop Lord Davidson during the general strike of 1926, writes Mayfield, is at the origin of the better understanding between the Church and the unions.) Finally, and above all, the Church's extension of her pastoral work in the big cities brought her close to the working classes. Social concern is behind a number of new developments in the Anglican Church today.

To be noted, too, is a significant liturgical renewal in present day Anglicanism. Many parishes, without abandoning the simple and beautiful traditional rite, are turning towards a more elaborate ritual or are adapting the old ways in accordance with the mentality of modern parishes. In Saint George's of Bloomsbury (the parish of the University of London), Mass is said facing the people. "It is our Saint Severin," an Anglican priest remarked. In a parish in the East End of London a minister even composed a Mass in jazz which is sung on certain occasions and is understandably effective in attracting young people.

If it is incontestable that Anglicanism manifests a new vitality today, the optimism of certain officials is rather reserved. One of the most severe critics of the present situation is C. O. Rhodes, who organized the very "liberal" Modern Churchmen's Union. He thinks that the Church of England is now facing its greatest crisis. "Neither the prophets nor the apostles faced a like situation," he writes. He is of the opinion that Anglicanism lives too much in the past and does not know how to respond as it should to the vital features of the contemporary world. What concerns him primarily is that the Church is behind in the world of labor and the world of science. If he appreciates the apostolate to the workers, he judges it to be quite inadequate to the needs. Further, the problem of religion and industry interests only a minority. The number of labor chaplains is "pitifully limited." Too, the zeal of many missionaries too intent on making converts is a fatal error. The majority of those to whom they address their sermons do not really hear what is being said; many are even ill-disposed. Yet Rhodes is willing to grant that labor chaplains, even though they frequently appear as partisans of capitalist interests, have succeeded to an appreciable extent in making clear that the Church is interested in more than just attendance at services. What these chaplains do in reality, he says, is to manifest the very profound interest of the Church in the work life of the people. They present clearly the meaning of Christianity in an industrial context.

Another area in which Rhodes (who wrote *The New Church in the New Age*) is unsparing in his criticism regards the system of commissions which name the archbishops to study reform measures. He finds that this system is too undemocratic and that it "strengthens the bad tendencies in the Church. It consecrates the growing power of the bishops. It irritates the clergy by interfering in small details of parish life. It intensifies the tendency to make the Church a rigid organization. It forces the parishes towards conformity. And it discourages experience and the spirit of enterprise."

Speaking more precisely of Dr. Fisher, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Rhodes writes: "It is said that he is the most powerful man in the country. . . . It is also said that he is one of the most capable; but no other public figure has so little obligation to answer for his actions. A minister of the govern-

ment must submit to questions from the House of Commons. If he does not satisfy the members he must resign. The head of an industry is also obliged to render account. But the archbishop is free. No one can ask him to render account. Even the legislative assemblies of the Church, which are supposed to act with at least an element of democracy, can do nothing against his veto."

For Rhodes the Church should be nothing other than a total democracy. Says he: "The Church of England will have to leave its cathedrals and take its place in factories and offices for a much longer time than seven days before the Lord will make her the guardian of the British people." Rhodes is also severe in his criticism of the Church's policy on divorce. It is evident, he maintains, that some people are better off divorced and, in some cases, remarried.

It ought not be thought, however, that the episcopacy forms a solid block representing Church policy. In reality the episcopacy is formed in the image of the Church: the principal tendencies of the members can be found among the bishops. In a recent book on Anglicanism (published as a Penguin book) Bishop Stephen Neill writes: "Of the 43 diocesan bishops, 8 can be defined as staunch Anglo-Catholics and 7 as staunch evangelicals. Seventeen could probably be classed as belonging to the High Church; 10 to the Low Church; and 2 as liberals (a term used today to refer to supporters of the Broad Church)." Thus concludes Neill, "the episcopacy seems at the moment to represent almost exactly the real force of the movements and parties in the Church of England today."

Another much discussed point is an ancient one: namely, the official character of the Anglican Church as the established Church of the country. The position of the Anglican Church is paradoxical in this sense, that its doctrine and canonical texts are controlled by a Parliament made up of men of various faiths. The prime minister, charged with naming the bishops, does not even have to be an Anglican. One disastrous consequence of this state of affairs can be seen in Parliament's rejection of the reform of the *Prayer Book*. The disaster predicted by Newman has come to pass, Bishop Neill noted. Non-Anglicans have joined forces to deride the desires of the Church and impose upon her the manner in which she ought to adore God. Some, like Rhodes, who fear the power of the episcopacy, find Parliament a healthy check. Thus they accept without any difficulty the nomination (by Prime Minister MacDonald) of the Red Dean (at Canterbury) and the famous Dr. Barnes (at Birmingham) whose pronouncements have long embarrassed the rest of the episcopacy.

A more serious question is that of "communion" or "intercommunion" of the Anglican Church with religious bodies having ministers not ordained by its bishops and professing a doctrine frequently far removed from Anglicanism. The most striking instance of this problem arose over the Church of Southern India, the United Church of Ceylon, and a plan for a United Church of Northern India and Pakistan. The Church of Southern India was born of the union of four Anglican dioceses with Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregationalist churches in the same region. There has been some support in the Low Church for accepting the Church of Southern India "in full communion" with Anglicanism. This must be interpreted as communion *in sacris* with acceptation of ministers of other faiths. In a first step, the bishops met at Canterbury and accepted the proposition in general. The Lambeth Conference in 1958 (comprising over 300 bishops of all the Anglican dioceses in the world) confirmed "intercommunion" and expressed the wish that "full communion" would come eventually.

This attitude was vigorously resented by several Anglo-Catholic groups. The situation grew bitter at one point and it seemed momentarily that a wave of conversions towards the Roman Catholic Church was about to take place. Several Anglican ministers did leave their Church since the compromises, they argued, were "inadmissible." The noise has died down somewhat now but the question continues to occupy a number of theologians. Dr. E. L. Mascall, professor of theology at Christ Church College (Oxford), pleaded several years ago that the Catholic heritage of Anglicanism not be betrayed; rather, he said, every effort should be made to make the Church of Southern India fully Catholic. "What purpose would be served," wrote Dr. Margaret Deansley, "if a reunion were effected at the price of abandoning the Christian faith?"

It would be inaccurate, however, to see only this painful aspect of the Anglican Church's ecumenical spirit. In regard to other non-Roman Catholic Churches, Anglican efforts towards the reunion of Christians have always been most positive and Anglicanism has played, and continues to play, a dominant ecumenical role. Her intermediary position between Roman Catholicism and those churches born of Lutheran and Calvinist reforms is thought to serve her especially well in this task. Nor can her influence on Protestant groups be said to have had no results. Writes Father Cowley, O.P.: "There is now much discussion about the Bible and the Church, about the nature of the Christian ministry and the form of the liturgy, in purely Protestant circles which would have been unthinkable 50 years ago had it not been for the presence of the Anglicans — and the Orthodox — in these ecumenical meetings. If there is a danger of losing Catholic values, there is on the other hand much to be gained by the Protestant churches of the classical tradition who have adopted many Anglican nuances in their thinking and practice."

Finally, the vitality of Anglicanism is manifest in her desire to be present in the modern world, in the support she lends to international efforts favoring human dignity and the cause of peace, as well as her concern to preserve morality in a confused world. In this respect, that part of the Lambeth Report containing resolutions regarding the family which implied an acceptation of principle (and even an approbation of artificial means of birth control within limits, so disturbing for a Roman Catholic, is for many Anglicans still another proof that their Church is striving realistically to meet the needs of modern man.

ban Renewal

ames V. Cunningham, now asso-ted with Action-Housing Inc. in tsburgh, was Executive Director the Hyde Park-Kenwood Com-nity Council during the stormy velopment of the Hyde Park-nwood urban renewal program in icago. A graduate of the Uni-rsity of Notre Dame and member the board of directors of Fides blishers, Cunningham has long en active in the field of social ac-n.

Vincent J. Giese, Executive Edi-of "Apostolic Perspectives," in-rviewed Mr. Cunningham recently the problems of urban renewal ich most of the nation's large tropolitan centers are now facing.

Q. We hear a great deal today out urban renewal, as a whole w science of city planning is de-loping. Can you give us some ckground on the upswing of in-rest in this?

A. I think it is a matter of the ople of our large cities finding at their problems are so immense at they either must solve them or andon the city. This has come out at a time when the nation has come so affluent that it can afford solve these problems. During the nomic depression of the thirties, didn't have the money to tackle ban development. Then came orld War II and the forties, fol-wed by a period when we had to t our economy back on its feet. By 49, it was evident that our cities, ring the thirties and forties, had come twenty years older and resi-ntial needs hadn't been met. We d a great deal of growth and over-owding in our cities. We lacked equate school and play facilities. the same time we expanded our andard of living, with tremendous mands being created by the people r better places to live and more nfortable surroundings. If we put gether the increased wealth of the tion and the growing problems, tion was inevitable. The action s been at many levels to make our ies more livable. This whole vast ogram of action at various levels is now being called urban renewal.

Q. Some people tend to identify urban renewal with the profession of planning, whereas it seems to be a complicated process which involves real estate, politics, financing, architecture, citizen participation, and so forth. Would you elaborate on the modifications which urban renewal plans must undergo when they leave the drawing table of the planner and before they become a reality?

A. It is true that urban renewal is much broader than just planning. The planner is a technician who tries to work out scientifically a solution to an urban problem. But before he starts, the community must decide that it wants planning, that it is faced with a difficult task which requires money, and that it will hire a planner. Once a planner begins work, he needs all kinds of information, for which he must draw upon many parts of the community — both private and public agencies. He must know the school facilities, what standards the community wants to adopt for its schools, what the transportation and commercial facilities are, what the condition of the residential structures is, what the recreation pattern is. For all this information he must draw upon other professions and experts. Once he has all his material, he begins to plan. Then, if he is a wise planner, he must consult with citizens and with various business and political leaders. In a democracy, if planning is not acceptable, it never becomes a reality.

After the plan comes the execution. In the Hyde Park-Kenwood Plan, with which I was associated, there were 34 different public agencies involved in the execution. The city's Department of Law must acquire the land. The Department of Public Works, the School Board, the Park District, the Department of Sewers, the city relocation bureau (to help families move into decent housing) — so the list continues to help execute the plan. Private real estate developers, home builders, architects, business men, groups of homeowners interested in cooperative housing projects, are involved. Almost every facet of urban life is involved in carrying out the job.

Q. Public housing is a controversial point in all urban renewal. What are the main objections which people have against public housing?

A. The main objections which we met in Hyde Park are typical, I think. It is objected that public housing is occupied only by problem families, who by being concentrated in one part of the community, will destroy the social fabric of the neighborhood and thus discourage stable, responsible families from wanting to settle in the community. It is also argued that public housing discourages mortgage companies and banks from lending money in the community. Too, it is argued that renewal areas should have as much private expenditure in them as possible, even in the housing built by public agencies. Another major objection is that most public housing is now occupied by Negroes. Particularly in a renewal area where there is an effort to stabilize an interracial effort, many people fear that the building of public housing will intensify the trend towards segregation. Many of these objections are based in fact and on experience and they represent to a large extent a great failure on the part of public housing to realize its real goals.

Public housing largely has been built in massive projects, with hundreds or thousands of families living together, usually in high-rise buildings, which are not always suitable to family life. What we have come to see is a sort of institutional-type neighborhood all its own, with its own complete area, a large number of problem families without fathers present, or families with chronic health problems, or families with unstable employment records. Also, a high percentage of minority families live in these projects, often families with a lot of children, who should be living in single-family homes. People in urban renewal tend to think of public housing in terms of these large social projects.

Public housing doesn't have to be developed this way. It can be attacked in new, imaginative ways. There are some experiments being made where there are no high-rise

buildings, but small numbers of units scattered about. For example, in one block there may be a six- or eight-family unit in row houses, which would not dominate the block, but enable it to retain its own identity. Those few families, then, could become a part of the normal life of the block without an institutional effect. Public housing would have better chances of succeeding along these lines. The basic need for public housing remains — that is, good, decent housing for low-income people — because we know that the private market cannot provide it. Public housing must be built somewhere and in some quantities. Urban renewal areas have small amounts of land available for these projects. What we need is new ideas and new ways of developing public housing.

Q. Apart from its public housing aspect, urban renewal programs have also come under fire for not providing enough diversified housing to meet varying needs and varying income groups. What, in your opinion, would be a happy balance of housing in a sound renewal program?

A. I think this question always must be attacked on a city-wide base. One individual neighborhood with a renewal program cannot solve all of a city's problems. The problem must be attacked, first, by private enterprise, and if it fails there, the government must do the job, or some kind of cooperative governmental-private enterprise program must do it.

The big, immediately obvious need as we work in urban renewal is for good, middle-income housing for all kinds of families, including minority families. Since the end of the war there has been a vast amount of new housing produced in our urban areas, but practically all of it has been produced in the suburbs, which have been practically 100 per cent closed to minority families. Thus, while we have a great new supply of housing created, a large part of our population has been cut off from it. Also, this supply has been available simply on a sale basis. There has been practically no middle-income rental housing built in urban areas since the war, and there has been practically no new housing built for the middle-income minority group either in the central cities or in the suburbs.

It seems to me that any metropolitan area seriously working on urban renewal must meet the needs of middle-income housing, both sale and rental, and also the needs of minority families in this area. If it is going to solve its long range problems, it must meet the needs of minority families on an integrated open-occupancy basis. It is no solution to build all-Negro housing.

Q. You mentioned open occupancy. Segregation in occupancy seems to be one of the thorns in the side of our large metropolitan centers. Would you care to comment on this segregation in housing? How does it manifest itself and what, realistically, can be done about it?

A. I believe this is our toughest problem. It is our biggest barrier to successful urban renewal. While the country is certainly wealthy enough to solve its physical problems, the psychological block of a lack of understanding and communication between races prevents any solution to the physical problems. Segregation is manifested most dramatically, of course, in our central cities, in overcrowded slums where minority families are piled one on top of the other in limited areas — where what was once a pleasant six-flat apartment building is now an overcrowded tenement house with 36 one-room apartments above the ground and perhaps six or eight one-room apartments below the ground.

The blight of one such building carries over to other buildings, eventually creating parking problems, school problems, and in general warps the whole environment around such a building.

Segregation is further manifested in the tensions which exist in our urban areas. The fact that the Negro, in particular, is confined to overcrowded ghettos and lacks communication with white neighborhoods, creates fear in the white neighborhoods, with the resulting riots at beaches and in parks whenever these two groups come together.

The most important things now being said about these problems are by Morton Grodzins, who is not a psychologist but a political scientist. He sees the central area of ou major cities becoming more an more Negro and less and less whit as the suburbs become white. Pr fessor Grodzins frankly says the is only one way to face this situ tion, that is by manipulation. Quo systems in the suburbs, open occ pancy laws, and other artifici measures must be adopted to chan this pattern of the development all-Negro cities and all-white su urbs.

Q. Exactly what would open c cupancy legislation provide?

A. Open occupancy legislati would mean laws on either a ci or a state level which would in e fect require a free market in ho ing. There are several types existence. New York state has be the pioneer in this kind of legis tion, as well as New York Ci Such legislation provides that a kind of housing receiving public a even if it has a FHA-guarante mortgage, must be sold or rent on a non-discriminatory basis. still don't have enough experience know how this law works, exce that it does begin to create a clim favorable to integrated living. velopers feel more secure with su a law, since they know that th competitors, in a sense, must foll a similar course. Such legislat usually sets up some enforcem agency or commission that has r power to sit down with real est brokers, home builders, proje builders and try, first of all, to p suade them to operate on a f market basis.

Q. How does open occupancy l islation differ from the removal restrictive covenants, which w eliminated by law some ten ye ago?

A. The restrictive covenant a method whereby property own of a neighborhood could insure future property sales there wo not be made to minority famil When the Supreme Court ruled the courts could not enforce t covenants, it became possible minority families to buy propert white areas where the owner willing to sell to them. Open o pancy legislation goes much fur than this. It requires owners to to a minority family, under cer

cumstances, particularly where e owner is a developer of a large mber of apartment rental units, a large number of single-family mes. This kind of legislation ally can't reach the individual ner of a single-family home very sily, but it can affect the devel- er of a large number of homes or e renter of a large apartment, be- use we have a large number of its involved and we have minority milies applying who have the me qualifications as white families plying. Here it is easy to estab- h a case of discrimination.

Q. The real estate industry itself s been accused of fostering segre- tion in housing. How does it do is?

A. The real estate industry has aditions, beliefs, and policies, and is very competitive as well as co- sive, with associations, communi- tions, and cooperative projects. has a long-standing policy, for xample, that the individual realtor ever does anything to destroy the omogeneity of a community, on the nviction that homogeneity pro- otes sound property values which real estate man must never un- ermine or destroy. One of the rinciples of homogeneity is that no inority families move into a neigh- rhood.

Also, there is the old question of roperty value as they are affected hen minority families move in. ome recent studies have shown that ver a period of years, even a rela- vely short period, property values ally are not affected by racial ovement. They are sometimes af- cted in the short run because of anic selling, but in the long run ey stabilize. Many realtors use e argument that the entrance of inority families into a neighbor- od destroys property values. I uess the real estate professional els he has a responsibility to pro- ct property values. In the apart- ent rental area, the real estate anager exerts a great deal of con- ol. In a given neighborhood, five six large management firms con- ol nearly all the rental property. heir policies determine who is go- g to live in the buildings. And ey are quite strong in their be- efs about maintaining these areas s white areas.

Q. As a matter of fact, we see the homogeneity of neighborhood after neighborhood breaking down because of the activities of real estate speculators. The real estate industry hasn't been very successful, it seems, in upholding its goals of preserving neighborhoods, has it?

A. That is correct. Here we move into another area. Large numbers of real estate speculators and marginal operators follow the transition line in a city. Making their living off of neighborhood change, they greatly accelerate the change, which in effect upsets stability and holds back any efforts to stabilize a neighborhood interracially.

The real estate profession itself holds to the notion that an integrated neighborhood can't work. There are only two kinds of neighborhoods: all-white and all-Negro. Real estate men, regardless of how well respected they are in their profession, assume that once minority families move into a neighborhood, it will eventually become all Negro. Therefore, they begin selling and renting properties only to Negroes. Of course, there are some exceptions to this. Some neighborhoods are making an intensive effort to achieve interracial stability. Some of the real estate men in these areas are cooperating.

Q. Mortgage houses and lending institutions are a factor in segregation, too, are they not?

A. Yes, they follow much the same principles as the real estate operators. They come to a point where they will not lend money to white families who want to settle in a changing neighborhood.

Q. Isn't it true that the real estate speculators who enter into transitional areas fill the gap that lending institutions have created by not making money available to Negroes wanting to buy homes?

A. Yes, but I think the situation is improving, although we still find instances where Negro families find it difficult to borrow money to buy a home. In their quest for decent housing they buy on contract basis and pay exhorbitant fees and very high interest to the speculators. Partly, this reflects the fact that minority people haven't had as much opportunity for good jobs as others and thus they haven't been able to establish strong credit ratings.

In Chicago, a minority family that has good credit can borrow money at a fairly good rate for a mortgage loan. But we still have so many Negro families living in terrible conditions and in overcrowded ghetto areas. They will do anything to get their families out of that situation. They do not yet have the economic strength to become owners, but in desperation turn to speculators and buy on contract.

Q. The argument is sometimes proposed that the renewal of one neighborhood works hardships on neighboring areas, due to the displacement of people that urban renewal causes. Is there any justification to this argument?

A. Yes, there is. The problem goes back to what we talked about before, namely, the responsibility of the city to do something about the housing supply on a city-wide basis. A neighborhood being renewed will have to relocate large numbers of families. Somewhere in the city there must be decent housing for these people to move into. We have seen in Chicago some projects where vast numbers of people are moved rather swiftly, affecting surrounding areas. We have also seen locations where a very careful relocation job was done and where surrounding neighborhoods were not affected very much. We know a good job can be done, just as we know poor jobs have been done in the past.

In the Hyde Park-Kenwood neighborhood, there were about 900 families relocated from one of the projects within the neighborhood. In making a study of where these families moved, we found that 80 per cent of them moved either into quite good, uncrowded neighborhoods, where their entrance had no deteriorating effect, or into public housing. About 20 per cent moved into areas which we considered overcrowded and where their moving certainly did affect the neighborhood. If a city is going to have urban renewal programs, it must have housing programs for people who move and it also must have a competent relocation service.

Relocation itself is a major profession in urban renewal. An ex-

perienced relocation staff must go to every family to be relocated to find out their needs, help them find new housing, provide them with money for moving, perhaps even the first month's rent, and keep track of them. I have known cases where the husband of a family to be relocated was out of work, so the relocation office found him a job. In some cases furniture has been provided for families moving from furnished apartments to unfurnished apartments.

One other point. Relocation most often takes place among families who are constantly on the move anyway. An organized system of relocation finally provides some decent housing that helps these families solve a chronic problem for which they have never before had any help. For example, a low income family that has been shifting from one slum or blighted building to another, perhaps while on a waiting list for public housing, can be helped by a relocation service. True, there are cases of the long-established family which has been living in an apartment or house for years and wants to stay. Along comes urban renewal to uproot it. But I think cases like this represent a very small percentage of the families involved in urban renewal programs. The vast majority in need of relocation are families who have long needed help on housing and now for the first time are getting it.

Q. In many urban renewal programs some physically sound housing is torn down in the interest of the total face-lifting of the area. Hence, we hear complaints that people are needlessly displaced. We realize that good housing means more than just a sound building. Would care to expand on some of the elements required for good housing?

A. There are two major reasons why a lot of sound housing is destroyed in an urban renewal program. First of all, any time a mass of blighted buildings are cleared out, some sound buildings are inevitably mixed in with them. It is usually impossible to do a decent redevelopment job without clearing out the entire patch of buildings. Whether it be an acre, a couple of blocks, or a larger area, sound buildings are inevitably mixed in with blighted ones.

A second reason, and usually the most important one, is that sound buildings are located on areas needed for some public facility that serves the common good, for example, play space to serve a school, a school site, even a parking space. We now are talking about what makes a good neighborhood, which involves more than residential structures. A very fine residential house or apartment building may not be a good place to live unless it is in a neighborhood that has adequate schools, play space, safe traffic patterns, convenient shopping centers, good transportation, and all the environmental factors that make a neighborhood livable. If the neighborhood to be renewed lacks space for all these facilities, then inevitably buildings must be torn down to provide it, even some sound buildings. Here we sacrifice a few sound buildings to save a neighborhood. In the case of Hyde Park-Kenwood, we will tear down 650 such buildings to save the remaining 2,350. Many of the 650 buildings to be torn down are sound. But if they are not torn down and the neighborhood isn't renewed, all 3,000 buildings will be deteriorated in ten or twelve years and will have to be torn down.

Q. What kind of self-help can citizens give to a neighborhood on the decline, that is, without going into a fully developed urban renewal plan?

A. There is a great deal citizens can do. First, they can take good care of their own property — maintain it, improve it, plant grass, paint, and so forth. Secondly, they can work together on common local problems. If, for example, there is a problem of poor street cleaning, they can get groups together on Saturday morning once a month to clean the streets and alleys. There might be a deteriorated old shed on a back lot, perhaps on a lot owned by an elderly lady who can't do anything about it herself. People in the block can get together to rid the block of this kind of eyesore.

As people begin to work together on a block basis they begin to see larger problems of the community, such as inadequate schools, inadequate police protection, and so on. An organized neighborhood can express its needs and get results without any great urban renewal expenditure. They can get the ordinary services their taxes already are paying for. I've seen block groups and neighborhood groups build playlots and tot lots, and equip and maintain them, too.

The organized citizens in a neighborhood may come to the conclusion that they need an urban renewal plan. When they conclude to this themselves, through their own study and work, they are in a good position to tell the government what kind of plan they need and what can solve their problems.

Q. What are some of the danger signs that citizens should watch for in a declining neighborhood?

A. If people find their children are in classes running 40 to 45 children in a classroom, that is a danger sign that school standards are on the downgrade. More obvious signs are buildings that need paint, lawns that are littered, overgrown grass, etc. Garbage removal becomes haphazard, parking more difficult, buildings are cut up, single homes become two-flats or six-flats or rooming houses, stores become empty, merchants move out, stores are used for secondary purposes such as warehousing, light manufacturing — there are endless signs, I would say, of neighborhood decline, as well as a large number of For Sale signs.

Q. You have had considerable experience in citizen participation in neighborhood improvement. Would you comment on the effectiveness of voluntary groups of citizens?

A. I think the voluntary group is a vital key to the whole solution of our urban problem. As a democratic nation we are strengthened by having voluntary groups of citizens do a great deal, without always calling on the government. The whole fabric of society is strengthened by people making their own decisions and solving their own problems. This makes for more responsibility and it makes the public agencies more responsive to the needs of people.

Q. It must require a great deal of patience and time to work through democratic processes with the c

ns of a community. We know this often frustrating, but what are me of the rewards?

A. The rewards outweigh the ustrations, in the satisfaction of eing things happen and in seeing oblems solved, in seeing people ow in the willingness to live to- ther, in seeing the dedication and velopment of individuals as they ork together for a common cause. always amazes me to see a large mber of people give themselves, xpend themselves in voluntary oups on something which doesn't ecessarily benefit them immedi- ely, but which they believe in and for ideals and out of convictions. is a sort of a blossoming of gen- osity which is wonderful to be- old. It seems, too, unconsciously develop in people the notion of ne common good and greatly rengthen society.

Q. You mentioned before the dan- ers of the current trend in metro- olitan centers today toward the reation of all-Negro central cities mmed by all-white suburbs. Do ou think we will ever come to an ntegrated metropolitan area? Have ny communities been established on n integrated community basis?

A. I think integrated communities nd integrated cities are possible. Maybe for the next ten or fifteen ears we will have to do things we on't like to do — have quota sys- ems, legislation, manipulation, a ort of conscious plan of working oward integrated communities.

In Chicago the most striking ex- mple is the Lake Meadows-Prairie hores area on the near Southside. his double project consists of sev- ral new, handsome, high-rise apart- ent buildings overlooking Lake Michigan on land once cleared of ll-Negro slums. It was cleared by ublic agencies, then the land was old to private developers.

Here in what had been an all- Negro area and still surrounded by n all-Negro area, beautiful new niddle-income buildings with fine acilities have been built — a new chool, a hospital next door, a new hopping center, a view of the lake, nd close to the Loop. Here there as been a conscious effort on the art of the developers (New York Life Insurance and Draper-Kramer Real Estate Company) to attract interracial occupancy.

The first building in Lake Meadows built some four years ago was occupied 95 per cent by Negroes; the second building showed an increase of whites, until now the last building rented in Prairie Shores, right next to Lake Meadows, is 78 per cent white occupied.

We have here a plan which is one of the possible solutions to the integrated housing problem. If you provide excellent housing and reasonable rentals, you can attract interracial occupancy and hold it and stabilize it. In renewal neighborhoods this is possible, too, because of a more attractive environment where people will be willing to live interracially and where open occupancy prevails. In a renewal neighborhood, where land is cleared and new housing is built, this housing will be the best in the neighborhood and it will be on land where the law says there can be no discrimination. This will make it easier to integrate the surrounding housing.

New neighborhoods like Lake Meadows and Prairie Shores and other renewed areas still represent a small percentage of the total urban area. Older neighborhoods will still be difficult. Morris Milgram's Concord Development in Philadelphia, which is a new suburban area with a quota system, is another example of specialized things that are apt to be done in greater quantity.

Q. We do hear of some disenchantment with the suburbs from people who are moving back into the city. Do you think this is a growing trend?

A. I think there is a growing market for central city housing because the kind of people who want and need such housing are growing in numbers and are a growing percentage of the population. These are single people, newly married people, older couples whose families are grown, divorced persons, widows and widowers.

Q. We hear much today about a rising Negro middle-class which is disassociating themselves from the stereotyped Negro living standards, for example, from illiteracy, dope, alcohol, gambling, dilapidated housing, store-front churches, and so forth. Do you have any observations to make on this rising class?

A. The growing Negro middle-class is a very important factor in the whole progress towards integration, because it is easier for high standard families to be absorbed into white neighborhoods. As more white families become acquainted with such high-type Negro families, mutual respect will be built and integration become more possible.

Q. Looking now to the Church, its problems in a changing neighborhood seem to be these: The parishioners begin to move out when Negroes move in. The Negroes moving in, for the most part, are not Catholic, which means in time there will be a large Catholic school or parish plant in the area without parishioners. and therefore, without the economic means to maintain itself. What can the Church do in face of such a situation?

A. Some parishes where this has happened seem to be surviving. It seems to be a providential situation. The parish opens its school to the new families, many of whom prefer to send their children to a parochial school, even though they are not Catholics. Through the schools the people become acquainted with the Church. I believe the parents are required to take some kind of religious orientation course to learn about the school their children are attending and what their children will be hearing about religion. Through these schools the parents meet the priests, and the large numbers of converts that result begin to build up the parish anew.

Q. In some dioceses, housing and neighborhood conservation committees have been set up by the bishop. What are the functions of these committees? What do you think the role of the Church should be in the very controversial area of housing and conservation?

A. I don't believe any final answers have been worked out to this question. I certainly don't know the answer. I know that the conservation committee working in the Archdiocese of Chicago has been concerned with study and research in urban renewal, race relations, and related problems. This committee has felt very strongly that the

Archdiocese and the official Church should be deeply concerned with these problems. Just what the responsibility of the Church towards them is has never been very clear.

My own feeling is that the most important thing such committees could do would be to shape up the thinking of the pastors of the city on what the problems are, the necessity of solving these problems through physical urban renewal, the need for a climate in a neighborhood where Negroes can be absorbed without flight on the part of white people, and so on. As the intellectual as well as spiritual leader of the people, the pastor can help build the climate in which these ideas are acceptable.

Secondly, the parish, as a neighborhood institution, should support and stand behind community organizations, but not dominate them. Thirdly, the Church must form intelligent, vigorous, enlightened lay leaders who will play a substantial role in the struggle to solve urban problems. I am not sure it is the role of the Church to make pronouncements, appear before public bodies, make judgments, and become a sort of expert on the technical problems of urban renewal. But I am sure the Church has a great role to play and a great responsibility, but more in the area of creating a climate and developing leadership and supporting neighborhood activity at the local level.

Q. Do you think Catholic colleges and universities are doing anything to train professional people to serve in the fields of housing and city planning in real estate, architecture, construction, etc.? A whole new field of service is developing and crying out for Catholic leadership.

A. So far as I know Catholic colleges and universities are not far advanced in these fields, but there are some beginnings. Universities like Notre Dame and St. Louis have departments dealing with city planning, but so far most of the professionals in them are educated in schools such as Harvard, M.I.T., the University of Chicago, and some of the state universities. Catholic professionals in the field are not too noticeable.

It is important that people with strong Christian influences in their education engage in this field, which touches the sacred aspect of man and the depths of human nature in so many of its aspects. I would like to see Catholic colleges and universities take more interest in the professions related to urban renewal. In some cases it is a question of relating traditional professions like engineering, architecture, and law t urban renewal. In some cases whol new departments ought to b created.

Q. Do you have any advice fo people thinking about entering th field of urban renewal as a life work? How should they prepar for it?

A. The main consolations of suc work are that it is creative, it serve the common good, it is concerne with real human problems, and decent living can be made at it. Th profession can be entered through thousand different doors, because the endless number of specialis needed. I think a good solid educ tion is necessary. A person ca come in as a lawyer, as a soci scientist, as a researcher, as a architect, as an engineer, as a rea tor, as a construction expert, as community organizer. Solid groun ing in a particular profession is r quired.

A person should be willing come in to a lowly job in the begi ning, which may not pay too w but will give good experience. F example, a large number of jobs a open for research people and for r location staff members. These jo give a good broad picture of urba renewal at the grass roots. This a good place to start.

BOX 507 NOTRE DAME, INDIANA

Order Blank

Name .....

Address .....

City .....

☐ One Year $3.00 ☐ Two Years $5.00

☐ Payment Enclosed ☐ Bill Me

APOSTOLIC PERSPECTIVES

BOOKS

Christian Vision of Man

E IMAGE OF MAN: A Review f Politics Reader, Edited by M. A. Fitzsimons, Thomas T. Mc-Avoy, C.S.C., and Frank O'Mal-ey, University of Notre Dame Press, 451 pp., $6.00.

Seldom does a book come across reviewer's desk so solidly packed h superior reading.

A word of gratitude is therefore order to the people who have been ponsible for this distinguished riodical over the last two decades. is book commemorates the 20th niversary of *The Review of Poli-s*, published quarterly at the Uni-rsity of Notre Dame. An intro-ctory statement of purpose reads: or twenty years *The Review of litics*, concerned with the philo-phical and historical approach to e problems of human community, s drawn for sources of value and umination upon the classical and ristian heritage. This is the ritage that brings real and lasting rm to our present civilization, at enables it amidst terrifying mplexities to endure. To reveal d to implement the strength of is heritage, with all that it tells the nature and meaning of man, s history and his institutions, is early a tremendous task which the itors have faced and undertaken complete humility."

The measure of their courage and sion is instanced by the present ook. Twenty-eight essays range er these general fields of inquiry: he Christian View of Man and So-ety, Man and History, Man's ight in Modern Civilization, Man d Revolution, Man and Spiritual roblems, Man and the American orld. These world-famous writers d thinkers are represented: Jac-es Maritain, Luigi Sturzo, Chris-pher Dawson, Jean Danielou, Hans orgenthau, Hannah Arendt, Wal-emar Gurian, and Kenneth W. hompson. There are essays on such storic figures as: Richelieu, Wil-am Blake, Lamennais, Brownson, Newman, and Reinhold Niebuhr (particularly his theory of international politics). There are exploratory essays on: The Christian Idea of Man, The Significance of Medieval Intellectual Culture, Marxist History and Sacred History, World Politics in the Mid-Twentieth Century, Totalitarian Religions, and Organized Religion and the American Creed.

This brief profile indicates the almost un-reviewable scope of *The Image of Man*. Perhaps the basic thematic division of the book could be reduced to two categories: spiritual and political. As a rational animal, to use the classical definition, man has both a religious mission and a social commitment. Assessing these two dimensions of his existence is a perennially exciting challenge to the thoughtful writer. Given the modern predicament, it is not surprising that a certain anxiety runs through these essays, especially those concerned with political matters. Thus Hans Morgenthau writes in "World Politics in the Mid-Twentieth Century": "Total war waged by total populations for total stakes under the conditions of the contemporary balance of power may end in world dominion or in world destruction or in both. For either one of the two contenders for world dominion may conquer with relatively small losses to himself, or they may destroy each other, neither being able to conquer, or the least weakened may conquer, presiding over universal devastation. Such are the prospects which overshadow world politics as we approach the half-way mark of the twentieth century." Who can say this situation has not intensified in recent years?

Many of the essays document the prospects Morgenthau envisages. Yet these are writers of maturity and balance. They are not given to pushing panic buttons. And indeed, in this book, none are pushed. The broad historical perspective it imparts makes this much eloquently clear: Man has always had a hard time of it in this world. Yet there is a driving force to an ever higher ideal within him. This *élan* has always been at the heart of the Christian vision of man. An always-present combination of his imprisoned condition and his will to transcendence makes man a splendid creature. And a record of his historical and actual confrontation of his situation, as given in *The Image of Man*, makes splendid reading. It is a book of hard realism; but it is also a book of overt hope. For, in the final analysis, it is borne up by an awareness of the wonderful things God has done for man, never totally abandoning him to his predicament. This awareness adds a quality of serenity not frequently found in such examinations of man in the world.

It is the best book I have read so far this year.

—**Paul Donovan**

The Relevance of Europe

THE MOVEMENT OF WORLD REVOLUTION, by Christopher Dawson, Sheed and Ward, 179 pp., $3.00.

By world revolution Mr. Dawson understands the movement which starts with the secularization and external expansion of Western culture. His concern is to show that even what is happening today in Asia and Africa reflects the impact of revolutionary currents that rose in Western Europe in the periods of the Reformation and the Renaissance, in the Enlightenment and in the colonizing and missionary movements of the nineteenth century. Thus, he claims, the European historical tradition is still the inescapable approach to universal world history.

In arguing for the relevance of European history, Mr. Dawson notes

that we are currently witnessing a widening of historical perspective: a new respect for Oriental cultures and history is making us increasingly aware of the seeming parochialism of the old European view of history. He does not question the value of a more ecumenical outlook (as reflected in the UNESCO approach to world history) but he deprecates the sudden diffidence which would lead us to study Asian and African cultures of today as though they were really autonomous developments.

In support of this thesis, Mr. Dawson devotes half of his book to a review of "the revolution in Western culture" and to "the world expansion of Western culture." The second half (which, however, comprises a scant 80 pages) is devoted to the impact of Western ideas on Asiatic cultures. In this regretably brief compass he does nevertheless bring out two points frequently neglected by Western writers in their self-conscious flight from ethno-centrism. The first is that the nationalist movement in the East is a Western importation (via European-trained intellectuals) rather than the expression of indigenous factors. Paradoxically it has been the spread of Western education which has been removing cultural barriers and rallying the peoples of Asia and Africa against the West. The second point is the religious impact of Western secularism. Though Mr. Dawson does not spell this out in detail, the point is in accord with such careful studies as, for example, Father Anthony Parel's *Religious Syncretism in India* (in *Thought*, Summer, 1957, Vol. XXXII, No. 125, pp. 261-279). The "magnificent theism" of authentic Hindu thought, says Father Parel, has been obscured precisely because of the Hegelian influence on articulate Hindu intellectuals.

In spite of the soundness of his main thesis it must be confessed, however, that this work — in view of what we have come to expect from Mr. Dawson — is a rather disappointing one. There is much valuable incidental information but one could wish that he had come to closer grips with some of the ideas he merely suggests. It may well be that the scholarly prerequisites for the evaluation of Asian developments are not complete, but a more detailed attempt to separate the secular and Christian strands in "Western expansion" would have been rewarding and quite in line with the general thesis. There is, for example, the curious paradox that the successful efforts of Las Casas on behalf of the native Indian population were accomplished by the importation of African slaves. It may be literally accurate but it is also certainly misleading to refer to this chapter as "the first of a long series of protests against colonial and imperialist exploitation and of the defense of the rights of native people" (p. 118). It may well be that Mr. Dawson's irenicism is a necessary corrective to the highly partisan criticism of colonial expansion and missionary effort by secular liberals; yet insofar as this intra-mural polemic continues, one might have to admit that we are not yet ready to write "world history." European history may well be the key to world history but perhaps it will take the perspective of Macaulay's "visitor from Australia" to fit it in the lock.

—James Maguire, C.S.C.

Who Was St. Therese?

THE HIDDEN FACE, A Study of St. Therese of Lisieux, by Ida F. Goerres, Pantheon, 481 pp., $4.95.

Despite the phenomenal popularity of St. Therese of Lisieux in this century, she has remained an unappealing figure for many of us. To those nourished on the Bloy-Peguy-Bernanos tradition, she seems to typify the world of bourgeois French Catholicism — a world of sentimental, smothering piety and intolerant contempt for "the things of this world." That puts her outside our taste; yet she was canonized by the Church and her "shower of roses" — a spate of miraculous events attributed to her intercession — is an observable fact. Apparently there was more to her than we ha seen. But what more is there?

Mme. Ida F. Goerres answers th question in *The Hidden Face.* S asked it of herself the day she w shown one of the unretouched phot graphs of St. Therese; stunned what she saw, she made a decisio "From that August morning on, was determined to pursue the ri dle of her look and smile — so di ferent from the honeyed insipidi of the usual representations of he Who was St. Therese of the Chi Jesus in reality?"

The bare outline of Mme. Goerre answer is not greatly different fr the standard accounts of Theres life: a happy childhood, shelter by the immensely protective love her family; a troubled period, fr about eight to thirteen, marked an almost fatal nervous disease a a growing scrupulosity; a "conv sion" on Christmas Day, 1886, t completely restored her inner tra quillity and left her determined enter the Lisieux Carmel; a fi seven years in the Carmel, a time growing awareness of her "missic but also of almost constant spiritu aridity and, for the last eighte months of her life, doubts abo personal immortality.

The excellences that raise Mr Goerres' treatment of this story above the usual saint's life many. There is her full and prec knowledge of the cultural and vironmental forces — the Cath culture of France in the last c tury, the atmosphere of the Mar home and the Lisieux Carme that helped to form the life she concerned with. There is her p ceptive treatment, based mainly the documentary evidence, of personal relationships Therese involved in — her relationships w her sisters, her parents, with Mot Marie de Gonzague. There are valuable discussions of such s jects as the meaning of mona life and the nature of sanctity.

A rich book. But what give its final superiority is the auth faithfulness to Therese herself. stead of finding in every event her life some evidence of sanc — a common hagiographical p tice — Mme. Goerres studies t events simply in order to see w kind of a person Therese was.

ectivity and the painstaking care h which she has examined the rces (chiefly Therese's own writ-s) have enabled her to correct a nber of misconceptions perpetu-d in other lives: that Therese's ctity was recognized early in life r family and acquaintances saw hing out of the ordinary in her); t she was mistreated in the con-nt (she was given almost prefer-ial treatment); that her "Little ay" was an original creation (it s prefigured, even down to its minology, by the Carmelite and atorian spirituality of the seven-nth century).

More important, Mme. Goerres s been able to trace the develop-nt of an authentic human char-ter for Therese. In the extreme nsitivity of the saint's childhood, r example, she has seen, not sim-y the reflection of an "exquisite" nscience (the usual judgment), t evidence of the morbid condition at was to lead to her breakdown d the attack of scruples. In herese's "blossoming" after her nversion, the author sees not only iritual enlightenment but the posi-ve interest of a restored mind and irit in the outside world. In the parent ease and freedom with hich Therese spoke of herself, me. Goerres sees, besides saintly ndor and humility, evidence of one the chief traits in the saint's aracter: an "extreme egocentric-y." The author does not ask us to lieve in a neurotic saint, but she es show us one who had a self to ntend with and whose battle with at self in achieving holiness was more easy or natural than it ould be for any of us.

This treatment gives us what has ver before been available: an in-rpretation of Therese's life based t on some stereotype of sanctity t on the facts of that life itself. or the first time Therese is meas-ed against herself and against the ckground that produced her. anctity is called in last, not first, explain her life, and as a result e has a recognizably human his-ry and face. This human portrait -like the authentic photographs — ay not be radically different from e versions we already know, but is far more believable; perhaps e difference it reflects is that be-tween reality and art — bad art, in the case of Therese.

This is not to say that in showing us the humanity of the saint, the author explains away her sanctity. What *The Hidden Face* makes clear for Therese is precisely what she herself taught about sanctity: that it is not a reward to be mechanically won by acts of self-sacrifice (as a child Therese had a notebook in which to record the number of her sacrifices), but a gift that is given to one. This doctrine, which is at the basis of Therese's "Little Way," does not deny the efficacy of good works but sees even this as being given by God — "all is grace," in the words of Therese. The only return to make for this grace, she saw, was love — and she loved in all things, even in the inability to love ("let us love feeling nothing," she once said). She was truly a "little soul" and gloried in her smallness.

This smallness is revealed in detail in the routine of the Lisieux Carmel. There Therese expended all her strength in such things as smiling at nuns she didn't like, in responding instantly to the bells that regulated her time, in not putting her hands under her scapular in cold weather. There was fidelity here but certainly not "heroic" virtue, at least not the kind that Therese's age fed its imagination on. Looking at the scale of this life and then at the glorification that came afterward, we can see, says Mme. Goerres, that there is simply no correspondence, no cause-effect relationship. There is only a girl who "lived the sanctity and transparency of ordinary life" and who was rewarded far beyond measure for her fidelity and love.

This sanctification of "ordinary life" is what Mme. Goerres sees as the ultimate significance of Therese's life. In an age of "dubious piety," an age which in all other respects she perfectly represented, she lived the pure, Christian response to life — "the beginning, the core, the original meaning" of Christianity. And in doing this she put sanctity back within the grasp of the common man.

Mme. Goerres is not under the illusion that she has completely "explained" Therese; she knows that "the hidden face of the saint of Lisieux remains forever obscured." Yet insofar as the veil of that life can be lifted, Mme. Goerres has done so. Her portrait is one that matches the authentic photographs; in it we see a Therese we can believe in and we are grateful for what we have seen.

—John McCudden

NOTED

Five Ideas That Change the World, by Barbara Ward (W. W. Norton & Co., $3.75). The British expert's analysis of our changing world in terms of (1) nationalism, (2) colonialism, (3) industrialism, (4) communism, and (5) internationalism. Her ideas are based upon her Christian and democratic hope; her materials are fresh; her conclusions are relevant. One of Miss Ward's suggestions in this book is that democratic nations (since they control most of the world's wealth) donate freely to the underdeveloped countries one or two per cent of their rising national income.

What's Wrong With U.S. Foreign Policy? by C. L. Sulzberger (Harcourt, Brace & Co., $4.50). The *New York Times'* columnist takes a hard look at the role of the United States in the world, including well-documented and searching analyses of NATO, U.S. diplomacy in the Orient, and the administration of the State Department. "We have vacillated," Sulzberger writes, "between fake slogans of 'containment' and 'liberation' from Communism, achieving neither. We have built up in friendly but unstable countries military machines their economies cannot support. We have sought to create *status-quo* situations where none before existed and we have avoided their creation elsewhere even when such a condition was possible. In this unsatisfactory situation we survive in nuclear stalemate, an equilibrium of terror that cannot endure forever."

Last Essays, by Thomas Mann (Knopf, $4.50). The great German litterateur's thoughts on Schiller, Goethe, Nietzsche, and Chekhov hailed by one critic as "a last testament of great force and great beauty."

What Present-Day Theologians Are Thinking, by Daniel Day Williams (Harper, $3.00). A new, revised edition of a near-classic handbook to theological thinking in contemporary Protestant circles. Mr. Williams (of Union Theological Seminary) maintains that four key issues underlie the current renaissance of theology: re-examination of authority and the Bible; the basis of Christian ethics; the meaning of Jesus Christ; and the form and nature of the Church. The thinking of such theologians as Karl Barth, Paul Tillich, Bultmann, and Richard Niebuhr is brought out in the course of the book.

The Lord of History, by Jean Danielou, S.J. (Regnery, $5.00). A wordy, disjointed collection of essays by the French theologian on the relation of history and Christianity. Individual essays are quite good. The book as a whole lacks the pitch of excellence. Danielou has done better work.

The Letters of Rainer Maria Rilke and Princess Marie von Thurn und Taxis (New Directions, $5.50). This correspondence extends from 1909 to the poet's death in 1916. The letters are warm, spontaneous and replete with the evidence of human frailty. Rilke was a rare genius — full of mystery, longing, wonder, and melancholy. All of these qualities come through in this series of letters, among the best of the many he wrote. His concern with death and awareness of this imperfect existence on earth also come through eloquently. "Shall we not always postpone any attempt at understanding," he writes, "look upon everything human as an insoluble riddle, regard history as a primeval forest the ground of which we can never reach because it lies under strata upon strata of fallen trees, an apparition riding on the back of destruction?" Excellent reading.

Teaching Liturgy in Schools, by Mother Emmanuel, C.S.A. (Fides, $1.50). The religion teacher and liturgical minded parent will welcome this knowledgeable and reasonably priced book on a subject of increasing interest in America today. Mother Emmanuel writes with that sense of the practical that comes from long years of experience and with the insight of one who has thought considerably about her subject. Some of the matters she takes up: Why teach liturgy, liturgical beginnings, children and the Mass, singing the liturgy, the liturgical year, and an excellent chapter on liturgical maturity.

Christians and the State, by John C. Bennett (Scribner's, $4.50). Dr. Bennett is professor of Applied Christianity at Union Theological Seminary in New York. His book is a serious effort to raise and resolve certain difficulties of religion in a pluralistic society. It has been described as a systematic attempt to discuss a "theology of politics." We might add that it is also a sympa thetic attempt as well as a compe tent one. Bennett is aware, as fe are, of the complexities of a societ in which religion, politics, and secu larism strive, cheek-by-jowl, fo identity and even dominance. Th author realizes that there are n easy solutions. His concern is chiefl to build bridges between the differ ent and even rival dimensions o American society as a step toward something better later on.

My First Seventy Years, by Siste M. Madeleva, C.S.C. (Macmilla $3.50). Sister Madeleva, Presider of St. Mary's College (Notre Dam Indiana), is one of America's bes known nuns. In her way she ha known many people, places ar achievements. This book is h autobiographical record of them. is written simply, perhaps humbl with little literary pretension. H last lines are among her best: like to go to Marshall Field's in Ch cago just to see how many thin there are in the world that I do n want. There have been, still a books that I should like at least try to write, cuds of song up which I still hope to chew. I shou like to watch my seedling oaks a beeches grow into great tree Thinking of things to be done, hop to be realized, persons to be helpe I say laughingly that I go to a m titude of funerals daily, burying many deceased projects, so much what I have had to let die and mu bury with regret."

FALL ESSAY CONTEST

This fall, FIDES PUBLISHERS and TODAY will jointly sponsor two essay contests, one for high school and one for college students. The deadline will be December 1, 1959. All students are eligible and may submit as many entries as they wish.

High School Contest: The general subject is: THE CATHOLIC IN THE MODERN WORLD. The aim of the essay should be to show what realistic goals the Catholic should have that will represent a living-out of the Christian principles learned in school which are our heritage and which we ought to want to see embodied in our social customs and practices. The writer of the winning entry will receive a $50.00 award, and his school will receive a set of the Fides FAMILY READERS series.

College Contest: The subject is: THE PURPOSE OF A COLLEGE EDUCATION. What kind of intellectu social, and moral development should my college e cation provide? What kind of person do I want be, what kind of life do I expect to lead and how d my college education help me achieve this? What k of program and atmosphere is necessary in the colle to make this goal possible? A $50.00 prize will awarded to the writer of the best essay; his school receive a set of the Fides THEOLOGY LIBRARY.

All manuscripts should be typed, double-spaced, w writer's name and school listed on the first page. tries should be addressed College (or High Scho Essay Contest, TODAY, 1700 West Jackson Blvd., C cago 12, Illinois. Entries sent with a stamped, s addressed envelope will be returned. The winning try in each contest will be published in TODAY.